The Outlook

DECEMBER 8, 1915

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THE STORY OF THE WAR:
THE LUSITANIA AGAIN

There are some American citizens who dismiss the Lusitania case with the statement that Americans who venture upon the high seas in time of war must run the risk of being killed, and therefore the American Government is justified in avoiding trouble with Germany on account of the death of such travelers. That the argument is unhistorical and illogical is unfortunately not the worst thing about it. It is also thoroughly selfish. We have not seen a more direct statement of this selfish aspect than is contained in the following quotation from a private letter, which has been shown to us, from a well-known and successful American now living in London. He is a man of marked intelligence, with a very strong patriotic feeling for his own country, and has for many years done important work in promoting American trade in foreign countries in a dozen ways. It was written about the first of November :

We are all in good health and spirits, but would go home if we could. It is not, however, a question of financial advantage, as you know, for after twelve years here one acquires a set of moral obligations to various people with whom one is connected which are more binding by far than any financial advantage.

I have on this subject some very serious thoughts, which, I have observed from the American press, are at variance with those of a large section of even my unhyphenated and colonially descended compatriots.

In times of peace the citizens of the United States are encouraged to engage in foreign trade, and to help spread the commercial and financial tentacles of our country to the four corners of the world. It is a creed with us and stamped as one of the most laudable occupations in the whole list. We spend the best part of our lives in this effort, being remunerated, it is true, but when the Nation comes to Armageddon, we are told by a Secretary of State named Bryan that our place is at home, and we have no business outside of our own country. What need or use to argue that the years we have spent serving the commerce and finance of the Republic abroad have pretty well bound us physically to the spot in everything except loyalty to home and country?

I would also like to call your attention to the fact that this loyalty gets a very hard bump when one sees borne along the streets of Queenstown the poor dead, drowned bodies of nearly a hundred men, women, *and children*, covered in death by the Stars and Stripes—a flag which in life gave them no protection. You might ask, How did we know they were Americans, so that they could be covered with the Stars and Stripes? The way we knew was by personal identification by the survivors, and also by the fact that all the men and many of the women had in their pockets the following document, or a similar one, on which the ink of W. J. Bryan was hardly dry:

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
Department of State

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. I, the undersigned, Secretary of State of the United States of America, hereby request all whom it may concern to permit John Robinson, a citizen of the United States, accompanied by his wife Mary and his four minor children, John, Mary, Thomas, and Alice, safely and freely to pass, and in case of need to give them all lawful aid and protection.

(Signed) W. J. BRYAN.

Most of my fellow-countrymen in the United States seem to look upon this as a simple episode of the war. It was much more than that. It was the most important event in the history of the Republic in view of our subsequent action.

They are quoting over here an ancient Greek proverb to the effect that the sheep is the only animal which will not fight for its dead, followed by the observation that it will be noted that this aphorism was created prior to the discovery of America.

We take the occasion to repeat, what we said last week, that we hope that one of the first acts of Congress will be to make a non-partisan and patriotic inquiry into the Lusitania case.

OTHER SUBMARINE PIRACY

What took place in the seas around Great Britain is now taking place in the Mediterranean and the Ægean. Distance and incom-

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plete reports make it hard to know all that is done, except when, as in the case of the Ancona, the atrocious destruction of non-combatants, and perhaps of Americans, throws the event into prominence. Yet there is plenty of evidence that the submarine attack on merchant ships is going on continually. Sometimes we have only a line or two, as in one despatch stating that the French steamship Omara has been sunk and "it is feared that the crew of twenty men have perished," with no explanation as to how these non-combatants were destroyed; or when there is a brief note about the French steamship Algérie, "sunk with twenty-nine of her crew missing;" or when we get a report from the American Consul, as noted last week, that "thirteen vessels have been sunk in four days" in one vicinity. That the thing is being done, and done on a large scale and contrary to the law of man and the law of God, is plain enough.

One story stands out prominently in last week's news. A British steamship called the Sailor Prince had been torpedoed by a submarine, but apparently the people on board were saved. Another British ship, the Barulos, carrying passengers, picked up the crew of the Sailor Prince in open boats and heard their story. Naturally the people on the Barulos were nervous and excited. Suddenly they saw a submarine, flying, it is said, the Turkish flag, which was afterwards changed to the Austrian flag, approaching them. A panic ensued. One woman went mad; other women jumped into the boats, others cast their children into the sea; boats were all but thrown into the water and were swamped or crushed; in all, twenty-five people were drowned. The story is told by Mrs. Eleanor F. Egan, wife of the well-known war correspondent, Martin Egan. She narrates the circumstances in a moving way:

> It seemed that I had no sooner struck the water than the submarine appeared under the bow of our ship. On her deck I saw a number of men with an officer whom I took to be an Austrian. The under-water craft had her collapsible lifeboat out, and the crew were pulling people out of the water onto her deck. The officer was holding up his hands, shouting to the people in the water to be calm. I heard him say in perfect English: "For God's sake, go back to your ship! We are not murderers."

We commend to the attention of Admiral von Tirpitz and the German and Austrian Governments this indication that at least some of their submarine commanders balk at the inhuman orders which others, like the captain of the submarine which sank the Ancona, seem only too willing to put into practice.

WAR AND FOOD

More and more the question of food is assuming importance. When the German Reichstag met on Tuesday of last week, its President declared that German economic resources were intact; that Germany had an abundance of corn and potatoes; that hardships undoubtedly existed and prices were excessive, but that the organization of provision markets and the regulation of prices now going on would remedy the difficulty. Other German authorities point out that food supplies may now be expected from the East, since the route from Berlin to Constantinople is open. On the other hand, several German papers have been suppressed for printing articles about the food question, while Amsterdam papers assert that serious rioting has taken place in Berlin—that on one occasion several thousand women gathered before the Imperial castle and demanded the return of their husbands from the front and improvement in food conditions, and that the women had to be dispersed by the police. Reports from several German cities show that prices, especially of meats and fats, are all but prohibitive. There is much talk about chemical substitutes for foods; and we even hear of one German professor who delivered "a masterly address" on the digestive and nourishing properties of wood. Pitiful accounts come from Warsaw of distress and starvation; and it is stated that 300,000 people there are objects of local charity. No doubt German efficiency will be able to deal with the situation in as capable a way as the circumstances permit; but that the food question is a matter of growing and critical importance cannot be doubted.

On this side of the water the question of food products is also coming up prominently in connection with the action of the Canadian Government in taking control, or, as some accounts term it, "commandeering," Canadian wheat. Eighteen million bushels were taken over at once; the total Canadian wheat product which could be exported is estimated at some 225,000,000 bushels. This action was not taken at the direct request of the

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British Government, as was at first asserted, but by Dominion authority and because Great Britain naturally wishes to direct the European shipping of wheat and to prevent any of it from reaching her enemies. The Canadian Government fixed the price of the wheat bought, and reserved the right to fix the price in future; and herein is another object—namely, to prevent high prices through speculation or partial cornering; anything like complete cornering is incredible, because of the immense size of the wheat crop in Canada and the United States. Prices of wheat in this country were affected, but the rise was not excessive.

THE NEW SITUATION IN THE BALKANS

With the almost complete subjugation of Servia, after a campaign of fifty-two days, the center of interest in the great Balkan war shifts as regards importance to that corner of Russia adjoining Rumania on Russia's south and west. But first as to Servia: One little southeastern section of Servian territory, directly north of the line of Greece and west of the line of Bulgaria, remains in the possession of the allied French, British, and Servian forces; as we write, the evacuation of Monastir by the Servians is announced, and its occupation by the Bulgarians is expected to follow; the Servian army, which has been pressed back, fighting desperately, by the Germans, Austrians, and Bulgarians from the north and east, has been forced into Albania and Montenegro; contradictory reports from the two opposing forces say, on the one hand, that this Servian army is all but destroyed; on the other, that it is still large, made up of veterans who have had a terrible training, and that it can and will in time reach its allies in the south. Montenegro will aid the Servian forces in every way; what position Albania will assume is uncertain, but apparently it has taken no steps to intern the Servians—and this it would find a difficult thing to accomplish! The allied forces just north of Greece are apparently maintaining their general position, and reinforcements are probably advancing from Salonika.

To return to the corner of Russia of which we have spoken, there seems to be no doubt that Russia has gathered here, in the vicinity of the towns of Galatz and Reni, a considerable force, consisting of perhaps four army corps. Russia can be of immense aid to her allies in the Balkans; she has two lines of attack: one against the Balkan ports on the Black Sea, and one by the Danube and through Rumania. One mouth and one lower part of the Danube, it must be noted, are adjacent to Russian territory, so that she has excellent facilities for accumulating her forces. To meet this threatening and serious Russian advance Bulgaria, Germany, and Austria are, as we write, transferring large forces to the Rumanian border in this vicinity. What will Rumania do? She may, while still remaining neutral, grant Russia permission to pass over her territory; she may refuse this permission; she may possibly declare herself in favor of the Allies—and the fact that she is a next-door neighbor to Russia and has interests in common with Russia is an argument for the last. But as we write Rumania persists in her neutrality, and, according to reports said to come from Rumania's capital, Bucharest, declares that she will not permit Russian ships to pass up her part of the Danube.

Meanwhile the situation in Greece remains obscure, but with indications that Greece is inclined to grant the demands of the Allies, which insure the safety of the French, British, and Servian forces as against any action by Greece if these forces should be driven back into Greek territory. M. Cochin, the French Cabinet Minister without portfolio, who has been conducting diplomatic negotiations in Greece, declares positively that the Greek people are in favor of the Allies, and that Grecian neutrality will continue "benevolent" to the Allies so long as Greece's own sovereignty and internal safety are assured.

There has been little of note on any of the other war-fronts, although it grows more and more probable that Gorizia, already nearly battered to pieces by Italian guns, is on the point of surrender. In Russia the coming of winter undoubtedly gives the Russian forces an advantage. For many weeks now the Russians have attacked rather than retreated, and the prospects on that line for the Allies seem to be growing brighter every day.

As to the general probabilities of the outcome of the war, it may be worth while at least to quote a sentence from General Gallieni, the French Minister of War, in which he declares his unshakable confidence in victory and says: "The strategic situation . . . has been unalterable for many months. . . . The French, British, and Italian armies are intact;

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they are growing stronger each day and better armed to vanquish."

BAGDAD AND TEHERAN

The far-away wars which are going on in the Tigris Valley, near the fabled site of the Garden of Eden, and in Persia, have come to the front in the news. In the first the British army, which has been slowly advancing towards Bagdad under the command of General Townshend, has been in battle with the Turks, and apparently has, at least temporarily, been driven back from that objective after a battle fought eighteen miles southeast of Bagdad, at the ancient ruins and village of Ctesiphon. Another attack on Bagdad is probable. Experts say that the loss of Bagdad would have an effect on the Turkish Empire second only to the loss of Constantinople, as it would put a barrier to any Turkish or German advance towards India, and cut the Bagdad Railway over three hundred miles from the Persian Gulf.

From Persia it has been reported that Russian troops are marching on Teheran, the capital of Persia, and that this city must soon fall into Russian hands. Rioting and violence are reported against the British colony in the city of Shiras, in southwestern Persia. A particularly well informed correspondent of The Outlook thus explains the situation in Persia :

The newspapers recently have announced that the Russians delivered a warning to Persia against any possible participation by Persia against Russia in the great war, and now comes a statement from Petrograd that the Russian forces which have been for some time in Kazvin, eighty miles north of Teheran, have been moved to the capital. During the last six months several times the ministers in control in Teheran have been almost ready to cast their lot with Turkey against Russia. The efforts both of Germans and Turks to bring this about have been incessant, and their intrigues have been carried on in almost every part of the country. They have appealed to the Pan-Islamic feeling, though the religious appeal is very much weakened by the Shiite prejudice against the Sunnites. It also appears that the English army is very near Bagdad, and that very possibly Bagdad will soon be in the hands of the English. The great Shia shrines at Nejef and Kerbala, along with Bagdad, would fall into the possession of the English. The chief *mujtahids*, or ecclesiastical leaders of Persian Islam, live in these places, and the taking of Bagdad would undoubtedly have a profound effect in Persia. It would be a tangible, concrete proof that Turkey had been unable to maintain herself against the attack of the English. It is also reported in the papers that the Russian campaign is proceeding in the Van region, and that the Russians have had some success along the southern shore of Lake Van. Russian advance in this region will tend to prevent the Kurds from activity in the war, and will have its influence in keeping northwestern Persia quiet and preventing further loss of life among the Christians in Persia and in that part of Turkey.

FRANCE'S "LOAN OF VICTORY"

Five billion dollars is a staggering sum ; but that is what the people of France have been able to lend to their Government after a year of war.

To pay for the war the nations of Europe are resorting partly to loans and partly to taxation.

Great Britain has imposed new burdens of taxation and has borrowed billions at home. Germany has not yet imposed new taxation—though a bill has now been introduced in the Reichstag to tax war profits—but she has borrowed over six billion dollars at home, latterly on a depreciated currency. Nor has France imposed new taxations. She has depended chiefly upon loans upon the Bank of France and treasury defense bonds.

Per head of population, the French are among the richest people in the world. Their peasantry and traders are the most economical and the thriftiest. The laws have also promoted a wider distribution of land-ownership than elsewhere. After the Prussian War of 1870–1, defeated France showed the world what financial strength meant by paying off a great war indemnity in a surprisingly short time.

And now France again has given a similar exhibition. The news was confirmed last week that subscriptions aggregating $5,000,000,000 had been received for the new loan, $2,000,000,000 more than for either of the latest English and German loans.

The event reflects immense credit first of all upon the organizer of the new loan, the veteran M. Alexandre Ribot, ex-Premier and now Minister of Finance. He made the utmost of his personal prestige and of the confidence felt by the French. As to the latter, he has said: "We can contemplate the future with perfect confidence, assured as we are of the unshakable will of the coun-

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try to spare no effort, no sacrifice, to obtain final victory." Hence he described his proposal as "the Loan of Victory."

In bringing it before the French people M. Ribot had the powerful aid of General Joffre, Commander-in-Chief of the French forces, who issued this statement to the army:

You have doubtless heard your parents recall the terrible hours of 1870. After that war there was a loan for the liberation of territory. This time, thanks to your efforts, it will be, as the Minister of Finance has said, "the Loan of Victory." Think about all that. Write about it to your relatives and the friends that you left behind at your birthplace. Tell them that to subscribe to the loan is to serve France; that it is to fight for her with you; that it is to give you the most effective aid possible at the present time, and that it is to assure your future and that of your children.

M. Ribot's attractive terms were certain of response. The issue price is 88. If paid immediately, the yearly yield is 5.73 per cent. What is more, the loan is free from income tax. Finally, though issued at 88, the capital is to be refunded at par in 1931. Never before have the French been able to obtain such a return from such a security.

France again leads the world in finance—and in patriotism.

MR. McADOO'S TAXATION PROPOSALS

Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, proposes to raise an additional $112,000,000, of which $93,000,000 is to be for new National defenses. In detail he proposes:

1. To continue the sugar tariff.
2. To continue the war emergency duties.
3. To put a tax upon gasoline.
4. To put a tax on automobile horsepower.
5. To increase the surtax on incomes.
6. To lower the income tax exemption limit.

General comment seems to be that the first two proposals are justified; not so much the second two. One hears more comment concerning possible changes in the income tax. The number affected by a change in the surtax to those having incomes above $10,000 or $15,000 instead of, as at present, to those having incomes above $20,000, is comparatively small, hence not so much is said. More is heard, because the change will affect more persons, about the proposal to reduce the exemption from $4,000 to $3,000 for the married, and from $3,000 to $2,000 for single persons.

If the above is the Administration's programme, it is likely to be met by counter-proposals from the opposition, among which we understand a tax on wool and a National inheritance tax will find place. If the latter is urged, it will of course bring up the subject of duplication of taxes and the necessity of a clear understanding between the Federal and the State governments in the matter. An editorial on "Balancing the Federal Budget" will be found on another page, in which we discuss the principles suggested by such proposals as those here recorded.

THE TEUTONIC INVASION

What The Outlook has termed a concealed invasion of the United States by the Teutonic Powers has been confirmed by the events of the week and by our own investigations. There is sufficient evidence of this invasion to make morally certain the guilt of agents of Germany and Austria, but as to whether or not there is legal evidence to convict them of crime there is a difference of opinion, even among the law officers of the United States. On this question of evidence the Department of Justice is taking a position of extreme caution that amounts to passivity, if not timidity, while the foreign influence is bold and aggressive.

The violation of the neutrality of this country by diplomatic agents of a foreign government is not a question to be determined by legal evidence, but enough has already been shown to constitute at least one *persona non grata*. More than that, there is evidence before the people of the existence of a criminal conspiracy by agents of the Teutonic Powers against the commerce of the United States and the peace and safety of the American people.

The question whether any of these agents are guilty of crime is to be determined only by legal evidence. If such evidence has already been secured, it is the duty of the Government to make use of it in bringing the offenders to justice. If there is no such evidence in the possession of the Government, it is the duty of the Government to take immediate measures to secure it.

To this end the Secret Service of the United States should be strengthened, rather than weakened by friction between its parts. At present the functions of this Service are

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divided between the Treasury Department and the Department of Justice, each of which maintains a separate detective bureau. The Secret Service of the Treasury Department, as a result of a political quarrel, was limited by law to the pursuit of counterfeiters and the safeguarding of the President. The Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice, while having a greater scope than the Secret Service of the Treasury Department, is limited in its activities by specific appropriations of Congress. The idea of having two separate detective bureaus in Washington would be an absurdity, even if there were no friction between them, as is the case at present. Those informed in the matter assert that the German Government spends more for its Secret Service in New York alone in one month than the Secret Service of the entire United States costs our Government for a year.

In view of the invasion of the country by agents of foreign Powers, one of the first duties of Congress should be to create a Secret Service adequate to cope with the situation.

AN AMERICAN RELEASED BY GREAT BRITAIN

An American boy, a few days ago, arrived in this country from England, where he had brought upon himself the peril of death and had escaped. His name is Kenneth Triest. Unknown to his parents, he left this country, and the next thing that they heard about him was that he was under arrest in Great Britain. He had enlisted in the English navy, was ardently pro-German, and evidently had some idea of getting information to Germany. If he had been convicted—and there has been no denial of what he had done—he would have suffered the death that all nations measure out to spies.

As a result of his father's appeal through his counsel, J. Mayhew Wainwright, ex-President Roosevelt wrote a statement of the case to the British Ambassador, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice.

In consequence of Mr. Roosevelt's intercession, Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Balfour carefully went over the case of young Triest, and, on the ground that the boy might have had an unbalanced mind, decided to give him the benefit of the doubt. So he was not even brought to trial, but on the arrival of his father in England was handed over to him and brought home.

In a letter to Mr. Wainwright, Mr. Roosevelt said that the boy should understand the terrible nature of his act, and contrasted the magnanimity of the British Government in this case "with the deed of black horror" of which the German Government was guilty in executing Miss Cavell, the British nurse in Belgium; for Miss Cavell was not a spy, but simply aided Belgian and French soldiers to escape from a hospital, an action like that taken, as Mr. Roosevelt says, by hundreds of women in our Civil War, when it never occurred either to the Union or the Confederate officials to even consider putting them to death; while Triest had undertaken to betray British naval secrets to Germany, an offense that any government regards as justifying the death penalty.

While, therefore, the German Government has been murdering American citizens on the high seas ,with impunity so far as any act of the American Government is concerned, Great Britain, at the request of a private citizen, has released an American who could justly have been executed. The contrast is one which Americans would do well to remember.

EMOTION WITHOUT ACTION

A political opponent once said of Mr. Roosevelt, "He thinks he discovered the Ten Commandments." Like the Ten Commandments, there are many other truths that will bear repeated rediscovery and restatement. Perhaps the most important of these for the attention of present-day America is the fact that emotion without action is morally debasing. In declining an invitation to speak at a mass-meeting to be held in New York for the relief of victims of Armenian atrocities, Mr. Roosevelt has again stated this proposition clearly and vividly. He said:

> Mass-meetings on behalf of the Armenians amount to nothing whatever if they are mere methods of giving a sentimental but ineffective and safe outlet to the feelings of those engaged in them. Indeed, they amount to less than nothing.
>
> The habit of giving expression to feelings without following the expression by action is in the end thoroughly detrimental both to the will power and to the morality of the people concerned. . . .
>
> All the terrible iniquities of the past year and a half, including this crowning iniquity of wholesale slaughter of Armenians, can be traced directly to the initial wrong committed on Belgium by her invasion and subjugation; and the criminal responsibility of Germany must be

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

LONDON "PUNCH" ON THE TERRORS OF MODERN WARFARE

Lady (to policeman on duty): "Oh, have you seen the Zeppelin? Which way did it go?"
Policeman (in best official manner): "Up the street opposite, madam, and first turning on the left."

THE ZEPPELIN

Fond Mother: "Ay, dear lad, there's not a day passes but what I think of you in that awful sub'arine, with only the periscup to breathe through."

THE SUBMARINE

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CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch

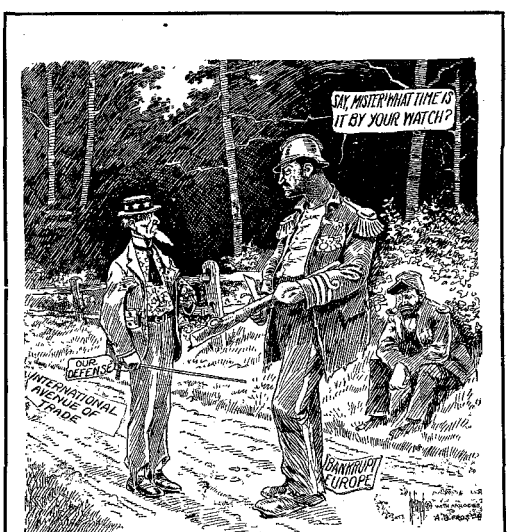
"WELL, WHICH SIDE ARE YOU GOING TO PLAY ON?"

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch

THE EXALTED BOOTBLACK

THE GREEK SITUATION

Ireland in the Columbus Evening Dispatch



With apologies to A. B. Frost

UNPREPARED

Stanley in the South Bend Tribune

OUR PART IN THE WAR

PREPAREDNESS

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shared by the neutral Powers, headed by the United States, for their failure to protest when this initial wrong was committed. In the case of the United States additional responsibility rests upon it because its lack of influence for justice and peace during the last sixteen months has been largely due to the course of timid and unworthy abandonment of duty which it has followed for nearly five years as regards Mexico. . . .

Such deeds as have been done by the nominally Christian Powers in Europe, from the invasion of Belgium by Germany to the killing of Miss Cavell by the German Government, things done wholesale, things done retail, have been such as we had hoped would never again occur in civilized warfare. . . .

For all of this the pacifists who dare not speak for righteousness, and who possess such an unpleasant and evil prominence in the United States, must share the responsibility with the most brutal type of militarists. . . .

Wrong-doing will be stopped only by men who are brave as well as just, who put honor above safety, who are true to a lofty ideal of duty, who prepare in advance to make their strength effective, and who shrink from no hazard, not even the final hazard of war, if necessary, in order to serve the great cause of righteousness. When our people take this stand, we will also be able effectively to take a stand in international matters which shall prevent such cataclysms of wrong as have been witnessed in Belgium and on an even greater scale in Armenia.

In these words Mr. Roosevelt expresses a view that is latent in America, though it has not been expressed by America's official leaders. It is, after all, upon the opinion of its official leaders that a Nation of one hundred millions is dependent in large measure for the crystallization of public opinion and National spirit.

THE TAFT-GARRISON CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES

Roused by criticism expressed by ex-President Taft, Mr. Garrison, the present Secretary of War, has come to the defense of the Administration's record in the Philippines. In the course of that defense Mr. Garrison has accused Mr. Taft of being actuated by partisanship.

It happens that recently Mr. Taft wrote the Introduction to a book written by a former member of the Philippine Department of Education. Secretary Garrison now reports that this author, who in his book was critical of the Administration, has written a letter to the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, offering to write articles favorable to the Administration. This, as Mr. Taft freely admits, seriously impairs the author's credibility. "A sickening sense of shame must have overcome Mr. Taft when he realized where his blind partisanship in this matter has led him," says Secretary Garrison.

Such a charge of partisanship does not, however, lead anywhere. The question still remains, whatever the motives of the charges may have been, Are they true? Secretary Garrison has entered a general denial, in the course of which he says: "The Government instituted in the islands by the United States was conceived in the best spirit, and has in the main been carried out in the most worthy way;" and that "that Government has been continued in the same spirit by the present Administration, and conditions, governmentally considered, were never better than they are in the Philippine Islands to-day." He goes further, and says that the Jones Bill, supported by the Administration, is "exactly in line with all that has heretofore been done in the islands," and that even the preamble of that bill, assuring independence to the Philippines, simply "repeated in concrete language that which has been substantially stated to be the position of this country from the time of President McKinley on down."

To this Mr. Taft has replied at length in a statement prepared immediately upon the publication of Secretary Garrison's statement. In the course of this reply to Secretary Garrison's general denials, ex-President Taft alleges certain very specific facts, some of which are undeniable.

The Philippine Islands had become unprecedentedly prosperous at the close of the last Administration, says Mr. Taft, and the insular revenues had increased steadily and were expended mainly in the maintenance of public order, the preservation of public health, in the improvement of the means of communication, and in the education of the people. Only a few Filipino politicians and a few newspapers controlled by them were clamoring for a change. The policy of the Administrations of McKinley, Roosevelt, and Taft was to train the Filipinos in self-government, but at no time had Mr. Taft, as has been alleged, said anything inconsistent with his repeated statements that the Filipinos would not be ready for self-government for a generation or more; and throughout the policy at Washington was to deprecate any change that would mislead the Filipinos into thinking

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independence near at hand or would increase the power of Filipino politicians.

MR. TAFT ON DEMOCRATIC COLONIAL POLICY

Mr. Taft says that on the coming in of the Democratic Administration the Governor of the islands, W. Cameron Forbes, was ousted by cable depatch, and his successor, Mr. Harrison, was sworn in as Governor while yet at Washington. Mr. Harrison has said in a speech that his appointment was due to Manuel Quezon, the Filipino Delegate in Congress.

Following the appointment of Mr. Harrison there were dismissals of experienced men in the Philippine Government. Many of these men are named by Mr. Taft, including Vice-Governor Gilbert, Commissioner Worcester, Mr. Sleeper, the Director of Public Lands, the Chief of Police of Manila, the Captain of Police, and, perhaps most important of all, Mr. Frank Carpenter, whose duty it was to scrutinize and supervise the provincial and municipal governments composed of Filipinos. Furthermore, there were resignations due to cuts in salary and to uncertainty of tenure. Mr. Taft then enumerated some of the consequences, notably, for example, the result of cutting the appropriation of the Bureau of Agriculture. As a result of that, combined with the change in personnel, including the dropping of scores of cattle inspectors and other changes, there was an enormous increase in rinderpest among the cattle. Mr. Taft takes up the effect on the Administration of the Bureau of Public Lands, on Internal Revenue, on the Bureau of Science, and so on.

These facts cannot be dismissed by general denials or by charges of partisanship against those who allege them. Unfortunately, Secretary Garrison has put himself at a disadvantage by stating what seems to us to be clearly not the fact—namely, that the Government of the Philippines has been continued in the same spirit in which it was conceived and carried on by the former Administration. The summary dismissal of Governor Forbes to make room for an inexperienced Congressman is a sufficient reply to that statement by the Secretary of War. No other Governor of the islands was ever thus treated, and no such policy as was involved in that dismissal could have made possible the success of that Government. Indeed, this violent action, altogether contrary to the principles that have underlain every successful colonial policy, has been disappointing not only to American observers but to those foreign observers who had seen in the Philippine Government a new and better era in the development of dependent peoples. The only justification for this change was that, in the opinion of the leaders of the present Democratic Administration, the whole spirit and purpose of the Republican policies in the Philippines were so wrong that they could be uprooted only by bringing in men altogether untrained in that former government and altogether unaffected by the principles of that former government. On no other ground whatever could the action of the President and those responsible for the Philippine Government at Washington be justified. To say now that the present Philippine Government is carried on in the spirit of that which preceded it is to say that which is obviously contrary to fact. We can account for Secretary Garrison's position only in one of two ways: either he does not realize what the principles were that underlay the Philippine Government from the beginning of American occupation up to 1913, or else he does not realize how subversive of those principles the course of the present Administration has been.

CARRANZA AND THE CATHOLICS

If the treatment of the Roman Catholic Church in Mexico by Carranza and his forces has not been hostile, violent, and cruel, then the heads of that Church are under a strange delusion. Thus Bishop Currier, of Matamoras, has said: "The Carranza party has proved itself the deadly enemy of the Catholic Church. The exiled bishops, the scattered priests and nuns, the desecrated churches, the general profanations, wherever Carranzistas have been, prove this, and such things continued up to the time that Carranza was recognized." And an official letter signed by two Mexican archbishops declares that published statements of "murders, tortures, outrages against the Church, the clergy, and the Sisters of Mexico are, in all their general statements, true."

It is not for the United States Government to discuss the justice of the laws which Mexican Catholics say bear hardly on the Roman Catholic Church, nor the historical reasons for the hatred of large masses of the people toward the

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Church. But it is the business of the United States to know the facts as to those tortures, insults, murders, and violations which have formed part of the intolerable anarchy of Mexico, and when it indorses and recognizes one Mexican faction it should take these things into account. It is a poor answer to the questions asked by Dr. J. J. McGuire when the President's Secretary, Mr. Tumulty, replies that, as to the outrages on nuns, "there is no official record of a single proven case of this dastardly crime in the files of the Department of State." How much effort has the Administration made to secure evidence? Dr. McGuire had not specified the crime named, but had asked generally about the treatment of priests and sisters. Father R. J. Tierney, editor of "America," points out the existence of affidavits and sources of information, adding that "only recently General Alvarado issued a circular letter in Yucatan denouncing religion in a crude, ignorant fashion. Moreover, the spoliation of convents and churches and the persecution of priests and sisters have been going on merrily in Yucatan, the last State invaded by the Carranzistas." He also contradicts but does not comment on Mr. Tumulty's ingenious theory that the sisters violated may not have been in nuns' garb! This is not the first instance of the ingenuity of the present Administration in framing excuses for those against whom its indignation should flame hot.

Carranza has issued a declaration to the effect that he will preserve the religious rights of all Mexicans, but with a proviso that the laws be strictly observed, which is perfectly right in principle, but should be interpreted in view of the fact that much of the ill treatment of churches has been done under the technical plea of law. Deeds, and not words, must show Carranza's good faith as to both civic and religious liberty.

THE STRIKE AT WILKES-BARRE

There is a serious and dangerous street railway strike in the city of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. It has been accompanied by violence in which men have been injured, property destroyed, and the public prevented from using the street cars. The facts are as follows:

The working agreement between the Wilkes-Barre Street Railway Company and its employees expired on December 31, 1914. Negotiations were carried on between the company and the employees with regard to a new agreement, and on January 9, 1915, such an agreement was signed, which settled every question except the question of wages. The men asked for an increase of eight cents per hour, finally reducing their demand to four cents per hour, and the company offered an advance of two cents per hour. The two parties determined to arbitrate this question of wages, all other questions having been satisfactorily settled. There were to be three arbitrators—one chosen by the company, one chosen by the men, and the third chosen by the first two arbitrators. The company's arbitrator was Mr. S. D. Warriner, president of one of the large anthracite mining companies; the employees' arbitrator was Mr. T. D. Shea, a lawyer of Wilkes-Barre.

The trouble arose over the selection of the third arbitrator, and a strike ensued in April, which lasted about nine days, in which time the street railway company made no effort to run its cars. Pressure was brought to bear on both sides, and finally the third arbitrator, Dr. John Price Jackson, Commissioner of Labor of the State of Pennsylvania, was agreed upon, and the men returned to work. The Arbitration Board listened to much testimony and many arguments, and received briefs on the matter at issue in accordance with court procedure. In July last the majority of the arbitrators (Mr. Shea dissenting) made their award, which increased the wages of the men on a graduating scale a little over two cents an hour and established a profit or income sharing arrangement in which all the men participated equally. The award was made retroactive, and the company obeyed the decision and paid the men the additional wages due from January to July, which the men accepted without protest. The labor leaders, ignoring their agreement to submit to arbitration, demanded a reconsideration, which the railway company declined to accede to, insisting that the arbitration award was final. The leaders of the employees brought some kind of pressure to bear, believed by the company to have been wholly political, on Dr. Jackson, the State Labor Commissioner, who asked for a reconsideration of the award by the Board of Arbitration. The company declined to reconsider, claiming that the award was conclusive, although it did volunteer to submit to the five judges of the Court of Common Pleas of Luzern County the ques-

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tion as to whether or not, under the agreement to arbitrate, the conclusions of the arbitration board were final. The men refused this further proposal of court arbitration and struck. The company finally employed other men, and has since been operating cars as well as it could in view of the riotous disturbances that have taken place in the community. The company maintains that it reluctantly agreed to arbitration, but finally accepted the terms of the arbitration board, has lived up to the award, is now attempting to operate its cars legally and justly, and sees no possible way for compromise.

THE REAL QUESTION AT ISSUE

In this matter we think the company is right. It is unfortunately true that industry in America is now very largely carried on on the basis of conflict between organized capital and organized labor. As in the case of international disputes, The Outlook believes that both the wise and just way of settling labor disputes is by arbitration; that when the matter in dispute has been settled by agreement through arbitration, and every possible means has been taken to see that the arbitration board gives a fair opportunity to both sides, both sides should abide by the decree. Whichever side attempts to break the decree by violence or lawbreaking or illegal practices should be brought to terms by all the power of the State.

In this particular case the men are the breakers of the decree. If the municipal or county or State or Federal authorities do not rigorously suppress the violence of the strikers in such a case as this, we can hope for nothing but anarchy in this country. The local police authorities have not handled the situation efficiently in the city of Wilkes-Barre and in the outlying boroughs. In the less thickly settled communities the State police have kept the situation well in hand. Assaults and riots have been confined exclusively to cities and boroughs in which the State police did not attempt to exercise any authority unless called upon by local officers of the law. The Governor of the State has so far taken no direct action in this serious disturbance, although it is reported that he is ready to intervene if both sides will seek his intervention. The men have expressed their willingness to have him intervene, and the company has declared itself willing to meet him upon his invitation.

If it is true that the Governor is waiting to have the two parties to the conflict seek his intervention, we think he is making a serious mistake. The function of a Governor is to protect the rights of the public. When an important city of the State is in a condition of rioting and disorder, it is the duty of the Governor to take the initiative in establishing peace.

A COMMUNITY SCHOOL

Probably the most interesting of all the Sea Island group of South Carolina is St. Helena Island, with its population of six thousand Negroes and sixty-six white people. Early in the Civil War the Sea Islands fell into the hands of the Union forces, and the slaves were freed as a military measure. In 1862 the Penn School was established, which has continued for fifty-three years; "The Light to the Islands," the people call it. Just before the death of the two founders, Miss Towne and Miss Murray, a Board of Trustees was formed. They saw at once the strategic value for these islands of a community school, built on a farm and based on a farm, and developing an industrial and economic independence among a people who have the advantages as well as the disadvantages of their isolation. They have all the conservatism of islanders, and their natural gentle friendliness has not been marred by contact with a low class of white people. They are small landowners, holding on an average from ten to fifteen acres, but they are still under the curse of the one-crop system. The present war and the rapid approach of the cotton-boll weevil are helping to bring home to the people the agricultural teaching of the school.

Another active agent for economic betterment is the school shop, in which are taught the industries and trades needed by the farmers of the Sea Islands. The cobbling, carpentry, wheelwrighting, blacksmithing, and basketry departments are all community shops as well as places for the training of the Penn School boys.

The basketry work, shown in a picture on another page, is reviving the native craft of basket-making, which was brought over by the slaves from Africa. The material is as free as air. The only expense is for the knife used in cutting the rushes and palmetto and the time and labor in making the basket. Every Penn School boy is taught how to make baskets as part of his training. This

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is largely a home industry which may be carried on by the farmers during the "lay-by" season and in the winter. The baskets are brought into the school shop, and from there are sent to all parts of the country.

Here on St. Helena is found an opportunity which no other school has of developing and building up among an isolated and practically pure-blooded Negro people a model rural community.

PROGRESS IN RELIGIOUS UNITY

From California and Connecticut The Outlook has received information of the union of Christians and Jews for religious fellowship in the services held on Thanksgiving Day.

At San Francisco the First Congregational Church and Temple Emanu-El thus worshiped together. It was not for the first time. For several years they have done so, making the two edifices their meeting-places alternately. This year's meeting being in the church, Dr. Aked conducted the service and Rabbi Meyer preached the sermon. Next year's appointment of place and services will be the reverse of this. It has become a custom.

At New Haven a wider union of the same kind took place that day in the meeting of four congregations in the Mishkaw Israel Synagogue. The churches uniting there with its congregation were the First Baptist, the Epworth Methodist, and the First Universalist, the Universalist pastor preaching the sermon, and Rabbi Mann, with the pastors of the other churches, conducting the services. This may be a resultant of the association in the Federation of Church Clubs in New Haven of Jews and Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, in common work for the moral and religious good of the city.

Such events simultaneously occurring on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts are significant of more and better to come. The spirit of religion is gradually submerging theological fences.

STREET ACCIDENTS

Under its present head the New York City Police Department is a good deal more than an old-fashioned police bureau. It believes in prevention of crime quite as much as in its cure, and it believes in the prevention of accidents as much as it does in the prevention of crime. In its "Police Bulletin" we read that the fatalities from street accidents far exceed those due to crime.

Since February there has been an increase each month in the number of persons injured. This number reached a high point in May, and since then has slowly decreased. On the basis of last year's cycle, we may expect a decrease in injuries until next spring, this owing to the absence of people from the streets because of the weather. On the other hand, however, owing to increase in population and additional congestion in traffic, the tendency for each month will be to show a greater number of accidents than were shown in the corresponding month last year. The success of the Police Department's efforts, therefore, must be measured, not by a decrease in any month compared with the preceding month, but by a decrease in the ratio of the month's fatalities to those of the same month of last year.

The report for 1915 so far tabulated reveals: (1) that in most of the accidents the persons injured, if not entirely responsible, are at least guilty of contributory negligence; (2) that the persons injured are principally men and boys, nearly three times as many males as females being killed or injured, this owing in part to the excess of males among pedestrians and in part to the male's greater venturesomeness; (3) that young children pay a disproportionately heavy toll in the lists of killed and injured.

The most dreaded hours in New York City are between five and seven in the evening—these being the hours of the homebound crowds. The average for accident is higher in the evening than in the morning hours, partly because of fatigue both of the drivers of vehicles and of pedestrians.

All New York citizens should be grateful to their Police Department for the really first comprehensive analysis of street accidents. It will, we are sure, be helpful in many another community.

A JAPANESE PRIMA DONNA

The Japanese people, whatever their attainments in the arts, never have been recognized as a musical people. It is interesting and significant of the broadening culture of the Japanese people now to observe a Japanese prima donna whose artistic grasp of grand opera has won her recognition first in Europe and more recently in America.

Several weeks ago the Boston Opera Com-

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pany, opening its season in Chicago, announced that the rôle of Cio-Cio-San, or "Madame Butterfly," in the Puccini opera of that name, would be sung by a native Japanese artist. Madame Tamaki Miura's rendition of this difficult rôle in the lyric tragedy was warmly applauded. Since then the Boston company has played an engagement in New York, and the Japanese prima donna made a favorable impression.

The voice of this singer, the first contribution to grand opera from the Orient, is neither large nor florid; it is limited in range, but is used with understanding. It is seldom that so finished a piece of acting is seen on the operatic stage as that given by Madame Miura as the unfortunate Japanese girl. It is acting, too, very different from that given by other singers of the rôle —not obvious acting, not a study replete with poses and "effects," nor loaded down with stage "business," but a portrayal of eloquent simplicity. For example, the vision song, at the opening of the second act, instead of being made a spectacular musical *pièce de résistance*, is sung by the Japanese artist with marked repression and with great attention to the dramatic values of the scene.

Madame Miura is a native of Tokyo. Her musical education was secured at the Academy of Music in the Japanese capital. The teachers in this institution are Europeans. Upon her graduation Madame Miura created a sensation in Japanese musical circles by her singing of the rôle of Euridice in Gluck's masterpiece, "Orfeo ed Euridice," and later attracted wide attention by her singing of the rôle of Santuzza in "Cavalleria Rusticana," at her professional début at the Imperial Theater of Tokyo. At the outbreak of the European war Madame Miura was in Berlin with her husband, a physician, where they had both gone to advance themselves in their respective professions. The manager of the London Opera-House offered the Japanese singer an engagement of one performance, which she accepted. Her success was so great that she sang eight times. This led to her appearance in America.

PROGRESS IN HARRISBURG

The city of Harrisburg, the capital of Pennsylvania, recently devoted three days to a Municipal Improvement Celebration of far more than local significance. Other cities have filtered water; other cities have paved streets; other cities have improved their sewers; other cities have established parks and playgrounds. Harrisburg, however, has achieved all these things concurrently, harmoniously, and entirely in accordance with the plans of experts.

Some cities in this country that have achieved remarkable things have done so more through a beneficent use of autocratic power than through pure democracy. In Harrisburg, on the contrary, every step of this important work has been voted upon by the people, who have in thirteen years had set before them four separate propositions for bonding the city to accomplish specific things. They have turned down some undesirable things, but only once have they turned down any desirable thing.

And thus it has come about that in thirteen years a city which is advancing steadily in population at a rate of twenty-eight per cent in ten years, and which has now a population of some 73,000, has spent, or has authorized to be spent, of public money for filtration, sewerage, the improvement of its wonderful river-front along the Susquehanna, the rebuilding of its viaducts, the paving of its streets, and the creation of a park system, the splendid sum of $4,795,209.

The fine financing that has characterized this movement is significant. It was predicted in 1902, when the movement began, that under favorable conditions the tax rate would be advanced two mills within four years, and that under unfavorable conditions it might be advanced three and one-half mills. These were the figures of those who had made the most careful estimates. As a matter of fact, at the end of the thirteenth year the tax rate has been advanced but two and one-half mills, and will probably not go higher than that amount. It is now relatively lower than in most other cities of the same size.

With this relatively small increase in the tax rate Harrisburg has secured an improved water-front, including protection against the fluctuating height of the Susquehanna by nearly three miles of terraced steps, affording a great esplanade for her citizens. Above this esplanade there is now a three-mile strip of park facing majestic river and mountain scenery. About the city electric wires are going under ground rapidly. Harrisburg has now 958 acres of parks, as compared with 46 acres in 1902; over seventy-four miles of paved streets, kept clean every day, as compared with four and one-half miles of paved streets in 1902, at that time con-

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stantly covered with an accumulation of filth. Filtration plants deliver an abundance of pure water every day to all the people. A stream paralleling the Susquehanna, which in old times caused great annual losses from floods, is now not only kept within its banks, but is also used to form a lovely pleasure lake of 140 acres, constantly available for boating in the summer and skating in the winter.

Chief among the enthusiastic originators and executors of the Harrisburg movement has been Mr. J. Horace McFarland, a resident of Harrisburg, but for eleven years past the President of the American Civic Association, a National organization devoted to the Nation-wide improvement of towns and cities. It is particularly fitting that the home of the President of this organization should have raised itself to a point where it may be cited as a model for civic enthusiasm and efficiency.

THE NEW CHINESE MINISTER

Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo has lately arrived in this country to take up his duties as Chinese Minister. He is, it is believed, the youngest Minister ever accredited to our Government. He is under thirty years of age.

He is a product of American rather than of Chinese education. As a result of our Government's remission of the Boxer indemnity and the use of the funds by the Chinese Government for education, Wellington Koo was one of the first students sent to this country, the Chinese Government having engaged to educate students in our schools and universities for public careers at home. Young Koo graduated from Columbia in 1909, and was so proficient that he took his Master's degree the following year. Later he attained the degree of Doctor of Philosophy after a course in administrative law taken under Professors John Bassett Moore, Edwin R. A. Seligman, and Frank J. Goodnow, the last named becoming in 1913 Legal Adviser to the new Chinese Republic and being now President of the Johns Hopkins University.

Dr. Koo is married to a daughter of former Prime Minister Tong Shao-yi, who is, after President Yuan Shi-kai, probably the largest-minded and ablest statesman in China, and is, like his son-in-law, a former student at Columbia University. Dr. Koo's associations, therefore, whether in this country or in China, have been stimulating in the direction of a broad outlook on affairs national and international.

After a period of apprenticeship in the diplomatic service abroad and in the home office, Dr. Koo was appointed a few months ago to fill a position specially created for him, namely, to be Minister to Peru, Mexico, and Cuba. Up to that time the Chinese Minister at Washington had acted as the representative to those countries.

Now Dr. Koo is promoted to be Minister to this country. At this time of unrest in China because of an attempted return to a monarchical form of government, because of the new relations with Japan which ultimately may affect us also, because of China's possible new relation to the present war, and, above all, because of America's historical position as China's best friend, it is fortunate for that country, as for ourselves, that she is to have a representative here who already knows us well.

"THE WOODEN CITY"

The French and Flemish prisoners in Germany have been publishing newspapers in their respective languages. The English prisoners recently followed this example and called their paper "The Wooden City." We have received a copy of the first number. It is an eight-page fortnightly, well printed, and without the typographical errors that one would naturally expect. It costs ten pfennigs (two and a half cents). We clip the following from its first editorial:

CITIZENS, FRIENDS, COUNTRYMEN!

So long as we have your support, so long we intend to publish this journal fortnightly. We are trying to place ourselves in a position to enable us to inform every one interested of all the happenings in camp and to answer any queries which we may receive.

We refuse to publish any war news or to reflect the feelings of any one in connection with any of the nations engaged in the present war. In short, we are publishing a journal in this camp of the camp and about things of interest only to those therein confined.

We will publish in each issue three columns of names of the British prisoners in this camp, in alphabetical order, for which we are indebted to C. S. M. Hall (the money bloke), and whose list we copy verbatim.

When the permission of Colonel Bogen, commander of the camp, was requested, he replied in part as follows:

Such a request leads me to think that, among the English inhabitants of the camp, the desire for work and intellectual occupation, which must always be satisfied, becomes more and more a necessity. One can and one must also

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conclude that the prisoners do not resent in such a painful way as some are inclined to say the life which fate gives them. Yes, there is no exaggeration in saying that the present fact of the wish expressed by these men is a proof of certain relations of confidence between them and the Staff of the camp. It is in this way of thinking that I accept the demand which has been presented to me, and I hope that the English journal will render great services in obtaining in the camp a beneficial influence, as has been done by the two other newspapers.

In the course of their acknowledgment the editors said:

We wish to thank Colonel Bogen for his consideration of our request and for his very kind letter. We feel sure that every British soldier detained here has great confidence in Colonel Bogen's administration of affairs in the camp.

We see gratefully that time is proving to our captors the manner of man the British soldier is.

Besides the personal news items and notices of instruction in boxing, stenography, and music, "The Wooden City" contains a serial story, a poem, and a philosophical article on war in general, all by prisoners from the Forty-eighth Highlanders; an atmospheric reminiscential sketch of life in Burma by a prisoner from the First Wiltshire Regiment; and a characteristically British account of a concert and boxing match which had just taken place in the camp.

MOVIES FOR CHILDREN

"Please express your judgment on the value of pictures showing children doing wrong, and subsequently being punished, as a means of impressing a lesson. Do they (the children) learn the lesson, or just remember the exciting adventures?"

So runs the thirty-first inquiry from a questionnaire sent out by the Juvenile Motion Picture Federation, organized in New York last summer by the Social Center Bureau of the People's Institute, the Church Motion Picture Society, and the Mothers' Association of a large school (the Horace Mann School) to secure both quality and quantity to motion pictures for children under sixteen years of age.

Heretofore these three organizations, along with many others scattered throughout the country, had met with serious difficulty in securing suitable pictures for special performances for children. Church and lyceum associations were unable to give their young people "movies" to compete with the vulgar and objectionable shows across the street. A movement to induce the theaters to give special Saturday matinees for little folks had to be postponed because even the managers could not secure an adequate supply of proper films.

Under these circumstances the Juvenile Motion Picture Federation appealed to the National Board of Censorship (for motion pictures) to place on each of its twenty-one committees critics from the Federation whose sole business should be the judging and labeling of suitable "movies" for young people. Films approved by these critics, together with their makers, booking agents, and dates of release, are to be reported to the Federation, that they may induce the producers to keep such pictures separate and for rent at a reasonable price; and also for use in a bulletin of titles to be sent on application to similar organizations.

It is no easy matter to set standards for the children of a nation, but such is the Federation's purpose. Wisely to accomplish this they have asked the co-operation of more than one hundred social workers, clergymen, and teachers. Responses to the questionnaire directed to these sources will be crystallized into "Do's and Don'ts" for juvenile picture-making, that the producers may have timely warning of the kind of pictures which will meet approval.

"It is well recognized," say the tentative rules now in force, "that the effects of motion pictures on children are not entirely understood." Young people demand "adventure, excitement, thrill, detective work, cowboys, Indians, war, soldiers, etc.," and it is the critics' business to see that these qualities are provided in prophylactic form. Need for censorship is shown by the fact that out of sixteen hundred plays submitted between June and September, 1915, only eighty were deemed harmless to the youthful mind; and, in spite of all persuasion, no one has yet put "Treasure Island" or "Two Years Before the Mast" or "The Leather-Stocking Tales" on the reel.

Already in New York City two leading theaters are giving performances for children every Saturday morning. Louisville is doing the same with one of her moving-picture houses, and New Orleans and Grand Rapids and New Rochelle are trying the experiment. If all goes well, the Juvenile Federation hopes to launch legislation forbidding children under sixteen years of age to be allowed among the spectators of any but their own specially censored films.

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MR. FORD'S PEACE ARGOSY

Nobody but an American would have undertaken such a project as that of Mr. Ford's peace argosy.

It is American in the sort of faith which its promoter exhibits. Mr. Ford evidently has great faith in the power of money. He has some reason for this faith. He is very rich, and has used his riches very effectively. He has seen what money can do in the building up of a great business, and how a generous and humane use of money through wage dividends helps in solving industrial problems. Perhaps, then, it should not surprise any one that Mr. Ford should think that by spending some thousands or millions of dollars he can put an end to war. There is something very characteristic of America in this simple faith in the power of money.

It is also faith in the power of mere words, and that is characteristically American. It is the faith of those who identify Fourth of July oratory with patriotism, creeds with religion.

When it was announced, therefore, that Henry Ford had chartered a transatlantic steamship, the Oscar II; that he had arranged to take a few score Americans of more or less prominence to some neutral port for the purpose of holding a meeting and establishing a headquarters to which the belligerent nations could turn for the purpose of seeking peace; that he had adopted as the watchword of the expedition, "Out of the trenches by Christmas;" and had planned to send out from the steamship wireless messages to the soldiers in the trenches, summoning them to lay down their arms (though there was no explanation as to how the soldiers should receive these wireless messages), Mr. Ford showed faith—but it was faith in mere words and in the power of money.

But, though there is much that is American about Mr. Ford's undertaking, it does not represent America. It has not been taken seriously by Americans. The simple-minded sincerity of those who have accepted Mr. Ford's invitation has saved them very largely from ridicule; but it has not prevented the country as a whole from looking on aloof, partly amused, partly irritated.

In the naïve disregard of the facts of life and of the forces operating in the world this enterprise of Mr. Ford's is a reminder of the Children's Crusade, but it lacks the element of utter self-sacrifice that characterized even that futile and tragic migration of the children against the Saracens. If this forlorn hope of Mr. Ford's partook of the heroic, it might have won a sort of disapproving admiration. Self-sacrifice, even when useless, has an element of the admirable. But this pleasant, entertaining voyage in a comfortable steamship, with just a touch of mild adventure in it that comes from not knowing precisely where the passengers will land, is not heroic at all. Compared with the heroism of those muddy Belgian soldiers who have been holding off the invaders from a corner of their country, and who have been dying that their homes might be freed from the oppressor, the action of these well-fed, comfortable guests of Mr. Ford's going off to call those Belgian heroes out of the trenches is most unheroic. The man who throws himself between two fighters may lose his life to no purpose, but no one can doubt his courage; the man, on the other hand, who calls from a safe distance to unheeding combatants shows neither courage nor wisdom.

It is not, however, merely in its method that this expedition is mistaken; it is mistaken in its purpose. What the world wants now is not peace, but justice. This is a waste of moral energy and material resources, because it is directed to a wrong end, and for that reason it will make more difficult whatever can be done to help secure justice among the nations at war. Those who would take the soldiers of the Allies out of the trenches while Belgium is under the rule of a military despotism, while the Servians are exiled from their native land, and while the Turks are massacring the Armenians, will not promote either justice or even enduring peace.

Suppose William of Orange and his soldiers had been called from the trenches when the Duke of Alva was devastating the Netherlands with fire and with sword; suppose Cromwell and his Roundheads had been called from the trenches when the liberties of England were trembling in the balance; suppose Washington and his Continentals had been called from the trenches when the question whether the traditions of English freedom would be preserved in America or lost for the whole English-speaking people was awaiting the answer at the hands of the American colonists.

What place in history would be given to that peacemaker who in this way had helped to win the battles for Alva, Charles II, and George III?

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BALANCING THE FEDERAL BUDGET

The agitation for increased armaments, involving an increase in the expenditures for army and navy purposes of possibly $150,000,000 a year, as well as the losses in revenue incident to the removal of the tax on sugar, raises the question of how this deficiency is to be met, how the burdens are to be borne, of the kinds of taxes that are to be levied, and the whole question of the equitable distribution of National taxation.

Until the recently enacted income tax all of the revenues of the United States Government were collected by means of indirect taxes through the customs and the internal revenue system. This has been the basis of Federal taxation from the very beginning except for the extraordinary war taxes levied during the Civil War. From these combined sources the Government now collects approximately $610,000,000 a year. This does not include the income tax, which for the first ten months of its operation amounted to $60,000,000 more.

For over forty years the United States has collected approximately every dollar of its revenue from consumption taxes. Except for the law of 1894, declared unconstitutional, and remedied by the amendment instituted in 1908, it was not until 1914 that any attempt was made to equalize the burdens by shifting a portion of the taxes onto incomes.

During these forty years approximately $20,000,000,000 was collected through the customs and internal revenue taxes, the great bulk of which came from articles of universal consumption. And these taxes are poor men's taxes—"hunger taxes," as they call them in Germany. They are unfair in their incidence because they are, in effect, exaggerated poll taxes. And they yield a substantial revenue only when imposed upon articles very generally used, such as sugar, tobacco, beer, and cotton and woolen goods. Even to-day, with the income tax added, the United States collects an insignificant part of its revenues from direct taxation if the other great nations of the world may be taken as a standard. In 1914 we collected $292,320,015 from customs taxes and $380,041,000 from internal revenues, inclusive of the income tax. Direct taxation through the income tax yielded only about nine per cent of the total revenues.

Even a moderate adjustment to equality of sacrifice and economic justice suggests that a very much larger proportion of our revenues should be collected from wealth—from inheritances and from incomes derived from property—rather than from the poor. This is especially true of taxes for war purposes and preparations for war. War and preparations for war should call for universal sacrifice.

Unhappily the tax burden of $610,000,000 from customs and excise taxation is only part of the burden of indirect taxation. For customs duties at least not only increase the cost of all imported articles—they increase the cost of all articles produced in the country behind the protectionist wall. Economists who have studied the subject have estimated that the total burden upon the consuming classes from customs duties alone amounts to from $1,500,000,000 to $2,000,000,000 a year.

It seems obvious that those who now pay ten-elevenths of our Federal revenues should have no additional taxes imposed upon them. An effort should be made to shift the burden so that a larger proportion shall be paid by those best able to bear it.

It is strange that democratic America should be more undemocratic in its revenue measures than any of the autocratic countries of Europe. Yet a comparison of budgetary systems shows this to be true. The United States collects approximately $3.20 per capita from customs taxes, while Germany collects $2.50, Austria-Hungary $2.25, France $2.60, Italy $2, Russia 84 cents, and Japan 40 cents. In addition the burden of internal revenue in the United States, which also falls most heavily upon the poor, is about $3.30 per capita. Thus the per capita indirect taxes in the United States amount to $6.50 per capita, while the newly enacted income tax yields, according to estimates for the present year, only about 82 cents per capita.

As compared with this showing, Great Britain, 1913–14, in peace times, collected the colossal sum of $236,245,000, or $5.40 per capita, from the income tax; and England has but forty per cent of the population of America, and the per capita of wealth and per capita of income are very much lower than in this country. In addition she collected $136,795,000, or $3.10 per capita, from the inheritance tax or death duties. All told, Great Britain taxed wealth, incomes, and inheritances to the extent of $380,115,000, and collected forty-five per cent of her total revenues from these sources. In

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other words, the revenues from wealth, incomes, and inheritances in Great Britain were over six times the revenue derived from these sources in the United States.

Germany, too, relies upon the income tax. It is the chief source of tax revenue to the German states and cities. The exemption allowed is $225, and the tax rate is progressive, rising in some towns to as high as 12 to 15 per cent for all purposes. In addition Germany relieves the poorer classes to the extent of nearly $300,000,000 a year from the earnings of the railways, forests, mines, and other industries owned and operated by the states and the Empire. To this extent the burden of taxation is reduced.

We are accustomed to pay very little attention to where the burden of taxation falls. It is enough to secure the revenues. The incidence of the taxes imposed is scarcely considered. Yet justice in taxation is the first obligation in the state. That should be the most elementary of all principles of politics. The state has no right to compel one class to pay for the protection, safety, and advantages of government to another class. It certainly has no right to shift the cost onto those least able to bear it. Yet that is what we have done in America for the past fifty years.

To remedy this injustice three methods are possible, not inconsistent, but co-operating:

I. The advocates of the single tax claim that the unimproved land and its natural contents belong to the people of the United States, and that if a rental was paid to the people in the form of a tax no other tax would be necessary, and they have given some grounds for this opinion in carefully collated statistics. Under our Federal system such a single tax could be imposed only by the States. But if the United States keeps the ownership of all the public lands which it now possesses, including the mines, the forests, and the water powers, and charges an adequate rental for their use by private capital, it would collect a sufficient sum to decrease materially the amounts necessary to be raised by new taxes.

II. Probably $3,000,000,000 changes hands through death every year. If fifty per cent of this sum—and this is a large estimate—were exempted from inheritance tax, it would leave an annual taxable fund of $1,500,000,000, which, if taxed at a progressive rate of from 1 to 10 per cent, would yield from $50,000,000 to $100,000,000 without serious burdens to the beneficiaries. Certainly inheritances in excess of $1,000,000 could easily bear a burden of 5 per cent, and no injustice would be done if the tax were as high as 10 per cent. Any tax upon bequests or inheritances in such sums as these is not a serious burden to the beneficiary.

III. It is estimated that an additional $50,000,000 or $100,000,000 could be raised from an increase in the tax upon incomes. In our judgment, this tax should be levied upon incomes derived from investments, not on incomes derived from industry. This is, however, approximately secured by exempting incomes below the amount secured by the direct productive industry of the average prosperous man. It is also true that a considerable sum could be secured by reimposing a stamp tax on checks, bonds, deeds, and other legal documents—a tax which is easily, because automatically, collected and which bears heavily on no one.

We are not, however, here concerned with advocating any particular method. We are simply seeking to point out to our readers, in an illustrative way, that the anticipated increase in appropriations, estimated at from $150,000,000 to $200,000,000, should be collected by direct rather than by indirect taxes—that is, from property rather than from the necessities of the poor.

PREPAREDNESS

A POLL OF THE METROPOLITAN PULPITS

THANKSGIVING DAY, 1915, stands out beyond other Thanksgiving Days because of the emphasis in American pulpits on the subject of National defense. While there was universal thankfulness because we had been able to keep out of war, there was also a recognition that there are worse things than war, and a note was sounded for the necessity for adequate preparation to meet any danger, external or internal.

This emphasis was particularly noticeable in the New York City pulpits. There were two prominent exceptions, however. The Rev. Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, pastor of the Broadway Tabernacle (Congregational),

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urged that the preparedness of the United States should be spiritual and moral rather than military, and the Rev. E. S. Holloway, pastor of Hope Baptist Church, preaching at a union service held at the West End Presbyterian Church, declared, as reported:

The call comes from every part of our land for preparedness. We are told that it means peace, but I fail to find in history any case that will justify that claim.

Preparation for war means war, nothing else. In the name of Almighty God I enter my protest against this programme, for it is a challenge to the nations of the earth. I protest because it will create a false spirit of National pride, and I utter these sentiments with no lack of love for my country, for that I yield to no man.

On the other hand, the newspaper reports of the sermons of other clergymen, from which we quote, emphasized the fact that the United States must prepare at once for proper defense. For instance, at St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Harlem, the Rev. Dr. George R. Van De Water said:

Preparedness means nothing more than timely security for self-defense. Our business is to get ready for what may come. We do not invite incendiarism by taking out a fire policy, or invite death by taking out a life insurance policy.

At the St. Nicholas Presbyterian Church the Rev. Dr. Jacob E. Price, of the Washington Heights Methodist Church, preached the sermon, in the course of which he remarked concerning preparedness:

Some say it will invite war. Do we reason thus about burglaries when we put locks on our doors? A war of defense is a holy war. Shall we not defend our flag against predatory nations?

We must be prepared, if for no other reason than to maintain peace. When the great war is done, and the world is organized for universal peace, there must be a policing of the world to maintain that peace. And for our part in that policing we must have adequate armament.

At the Marble Collegiate Church (Dutch Reformed), the Rev. Dr. Malcolm James MacLeod affirmed:

It behooves nations that want peace to be strong enough to demand it. We need a navy big enough to guarantee the peace of the world. To-day there is hell on earth. Why should not we in this country insure against it? If a brute attacked my child, would I subdue him by writing a series of letters? No; I ought to be ready to take off my coat and thrash him. Jesus used a scourge.

We insure against fire; why not insure against the greatest calamity that ever occurs to mankind? The nation that refuses to safeguard its homes and stand up for the poor and oppressed, or to champion the cause of righteousness and justice, is not worthy of its liberty. It ought to be enslaved.

Certain specific military methods of preparedness were also emphasized. For instance, in the Central Presbyterian Church the Rev. Dr. Wilton Merle Smith asserted:

The war in Europe, horrible as it all is, is assuredly awakening a new patriotism in the United States. I cannot agree with my neighboring pastor, Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, who is a close friend of mine, that adequate preparedness is something like a chip on one's shoulder.

The responsibilities of our country demand a larger armament than in the years gone by, and the mere fact of being prepared against dangerous possibilities does not mean that we are priming ourselves to rush into war. . . . It is the czars, the kings, and the bureaucrats who are chiefly responsible for war, and had the chief offenders in Europe been under a more republican form of government there would probably have been no war.

There are things worse than war, and I have no sympathy with those who preach peace at any price, nor with the shortsightedness and almost criminal inefficiency of public officials who would restrict our naval and military forces to the smallest possible dimensions.

The call to preparedness was also seen in Seward Park, where more than a hundred foreign-born citizens enlisted on Thanksgiving Day in the Loyal American Legion, and pledged to their adopted country the military training acquired by them in the land of their birth. Municipal Court Justice Snitkin read President Wilson's Thanksgiving Day proclamation to the recruits, and bade all salute the American flag. Borough President Marks called on the foreign-born to show the hyphenates how small the hyphenate influence really is. Municipal Court Justice Levy hoped that the Legion would soon be a million strong.

The note of preparedness was also sounded in the Stadium of the City College, where eight hundred cadets from the Hebrew Orphan Asylum and about the same number of Boy Scouts of America went through a programme of evolutions before Major-General John F. O'Ryan, commanding officer of the New York State National Guard, and about twelve thousand spectators. Acting Mayor McAneny addressed the boys, giving his cordial approval of the campaign started on December 7 to raise in four days a great sum for the Boy Scouts of America.

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Current Events Pictorially Treated

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A NEW METHOD OF INTRODUCING COSTUMES TO AMERICAN WOMEN

Formerly new fashions in dress were made known by plates or wax figures; now attractive young women, some of whom come from abroad for this purpose, show the newest creations of the great costumers in exhibitions held in the best hotels or department stores. The above picture, which has real artistic value, shows a Paris dress worn by one of these graceful models at a recent unusual exhibit in New York City

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THE CLOTH HALL AT YPRES

ARCHITECTURAL SACRIFICES OF

Reproduced from colored etchings by J. Alphege Brewer, one of the younger English etchers, by permission
worthy memorials of magnificent edifices which are now partly or wholly in ruins. Mr. Brewer's subjects,
but also for the almost amazing accuracy of architectural detail." He "makes a picture of what in less
colored etchings is that they

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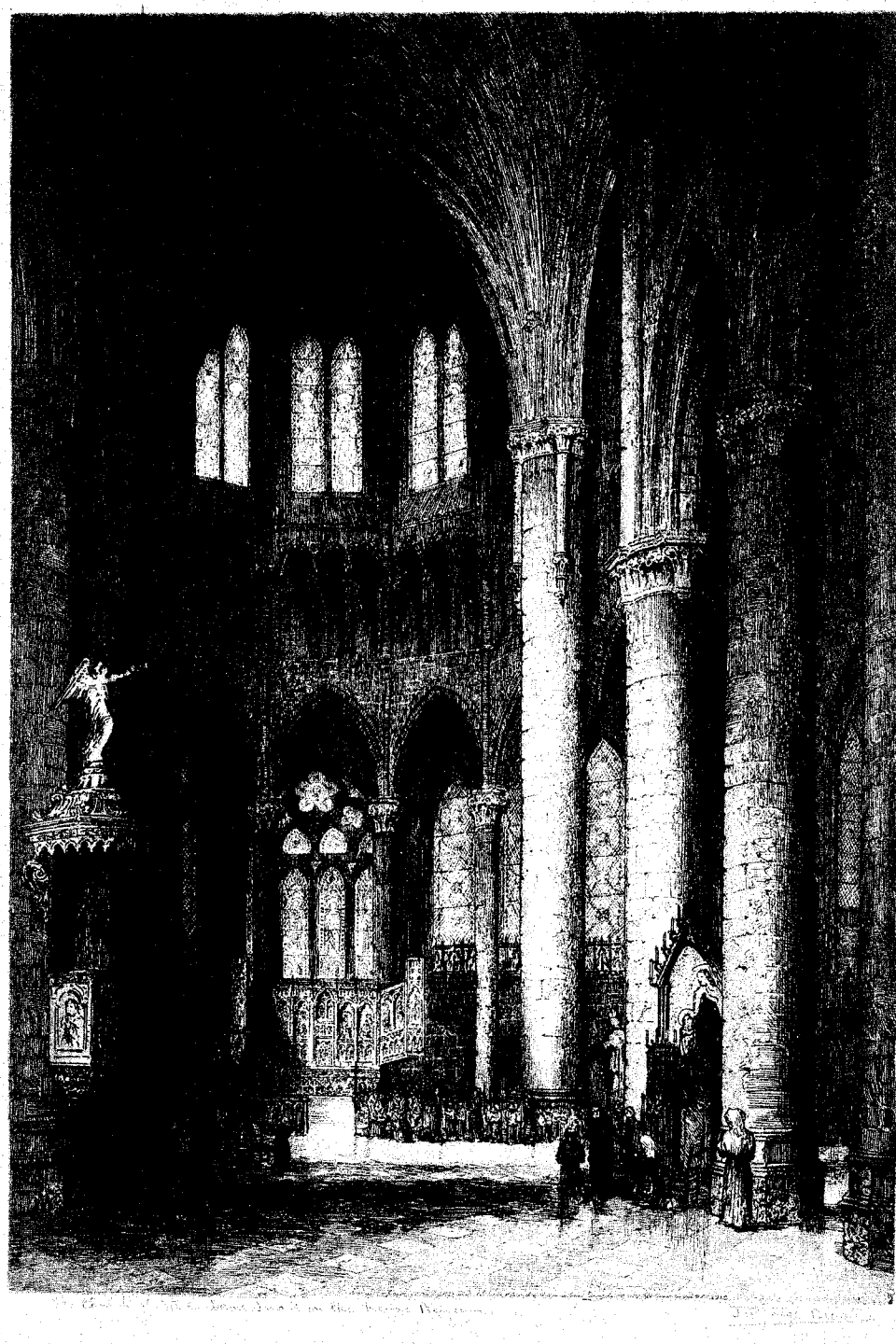

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INTERIOR OF THE CHURCH OF NOTRE DAME AT DINANT

THE GREAT EUROPEAN WAR

of Samuel Schwartz's Sons & Co., New York. These etchings were made shortly before the war, and are says the "Fine Arts Journal," are distinguished "not only as picturesque subjects picturesquely handled, skillful hands might degenerate into a mere architectural drawing." An interesting thing about Mr. Brewer's are printed by himself

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BOYS WADING

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THE BERRY PICKERS

CHARMING EXAMPLES OF WINSLOW HOMER'S WORK SEEN IN A RECENT EXHIBITION

These water-colors are reminiscences of a sojourn by Mr. Homer at Gloucester, Massachusetts, in 1873; their charm is perennial. They were loaned to the recent remarkable exhibition of Winslow Homer water-colors at the Brooklyn Museum, by Mr. and Mrs. N. T. Pulsifer, through whose courtesy they are reproduced here

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"INSPIRATION," BY C. S. PIETRO

This work by a New York sculptor attracted much attention at the recent exhibition of sculpture by American artists at the Gorham Galleries. The group symbolizes, in the face of the aged woman, the spiritual influence of a higher power on the race, and, in the bowed figure of the man, the need of this influence and his dependence on the woman for elevation and enlightenment

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PHOTOGRAPH BY PETER A JULEY

PORTRAIT OF MRS. DUDLEY OLCOTT, BY IRVING R. WILES

A notable example of the work of this eminent American portrait-painter, shown at the fifth annual exhibition of the National Association of Portrait Painters in New York City

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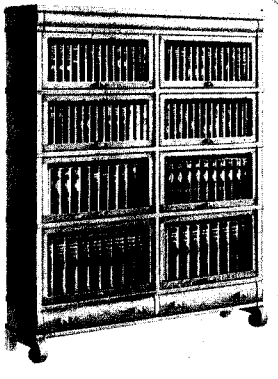

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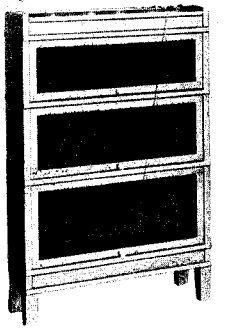

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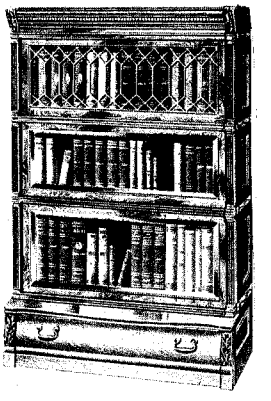

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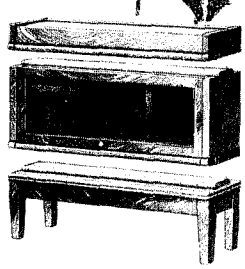

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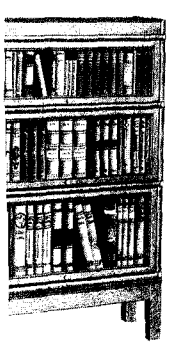

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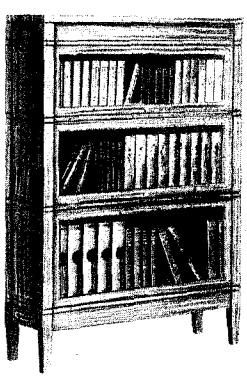

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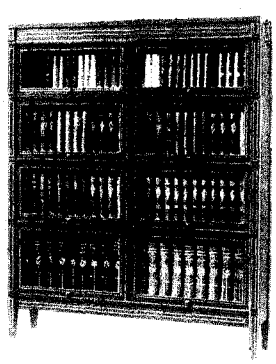

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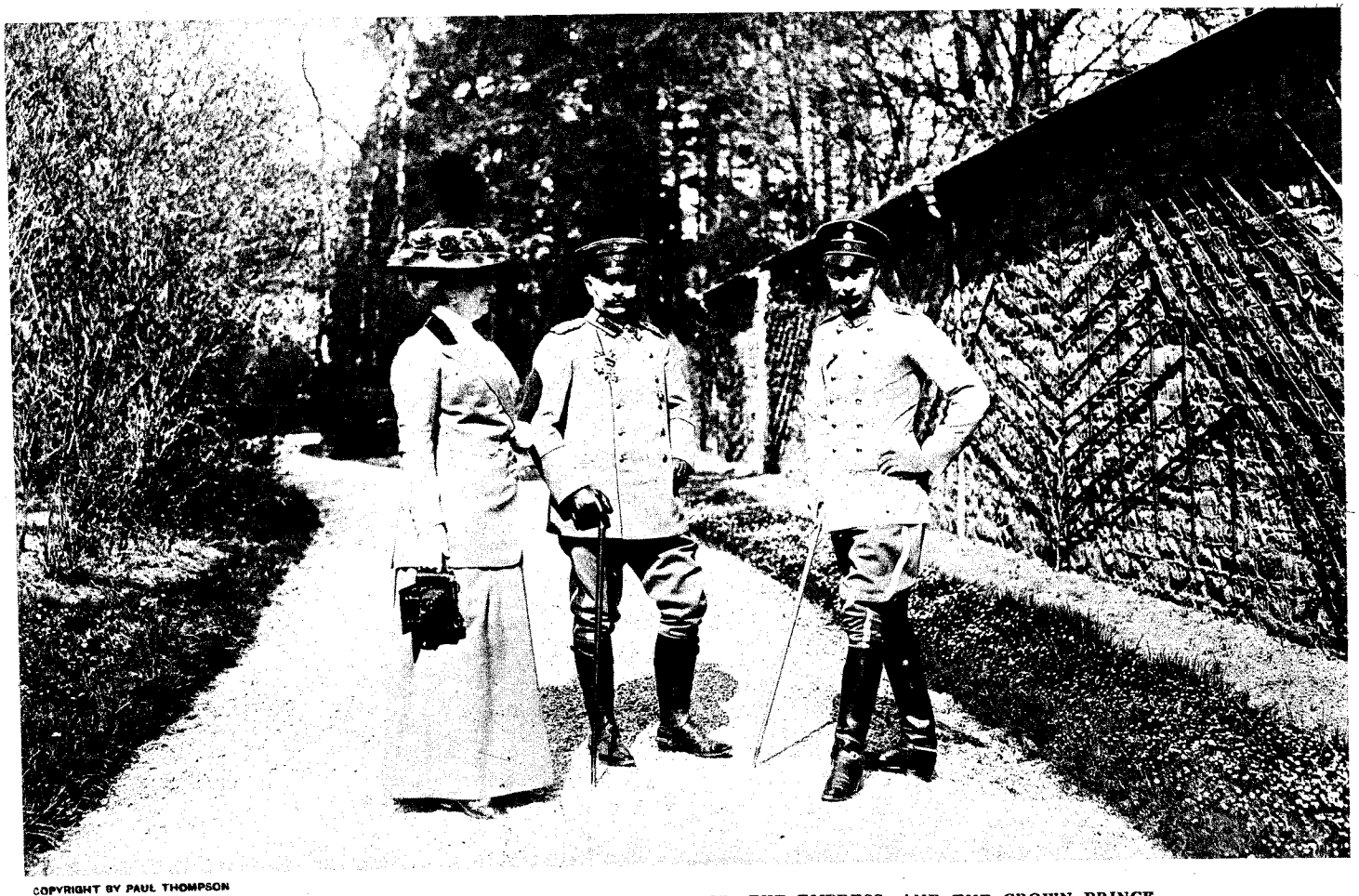

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THE LATEST PICTURE OF THE GERMAN EMPEROR, THE EMPRESS, AND THE CROWN PRINCE

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PATROLS OF A GERMAN SNOW BATTALION READY FOR THE WINTER CAMPAIGN

TWO RECENT PHOTOGRAPHS FROM THE GERMAN WAR ZONE

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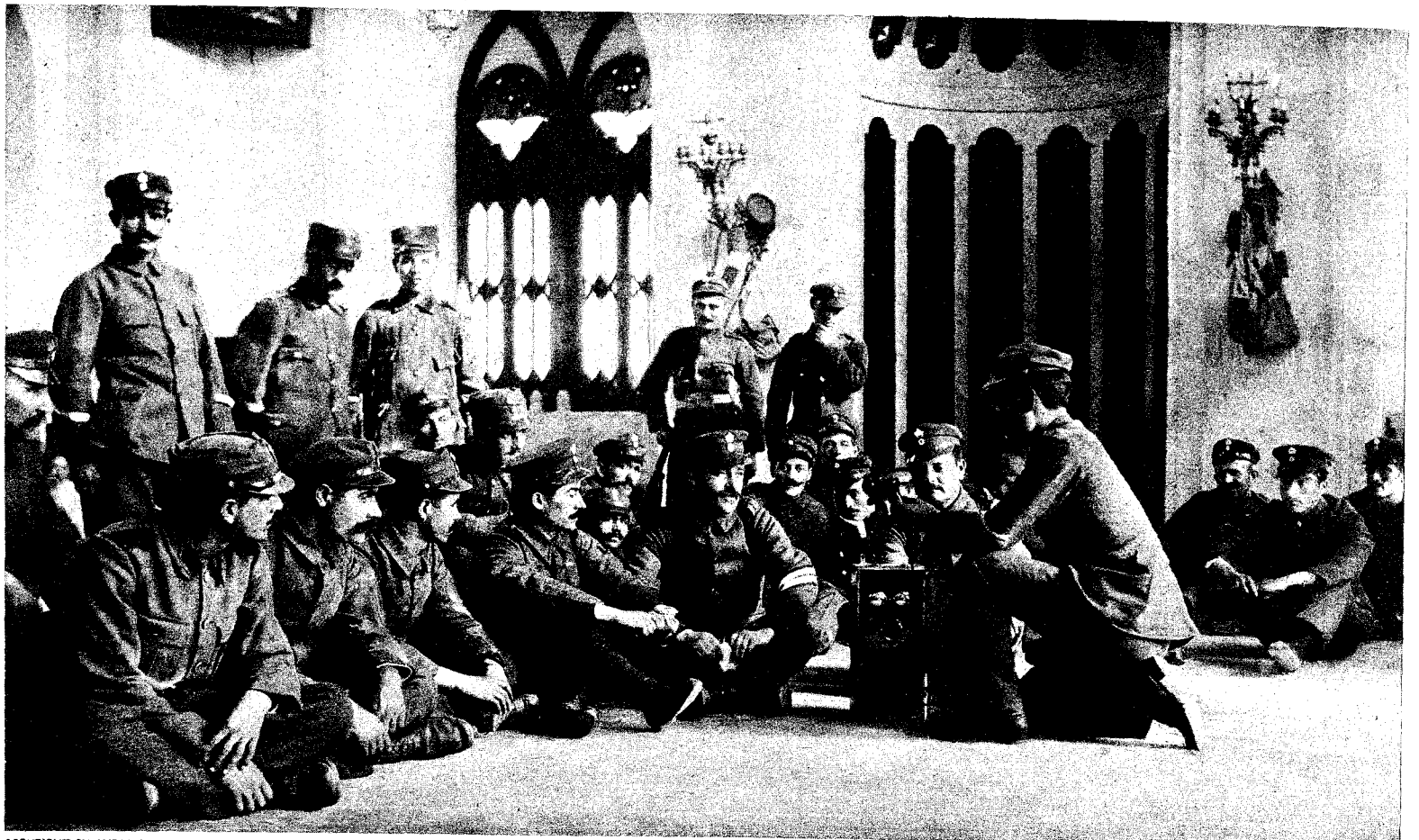

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GREEK SOLDIERS IN SALONIKA

The picture shows a company of Greek soldiers, of the engineer corps, receiving a lesson in the use of the telephone, in a Turkish mosque in Salonika. When Salonika was in the possession of Turkey, this mosque is said to have been a favorite place of worship of the then Sultan, Abdul Hamid

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"I'SE GOING TO TEACH YOU TO MAKE THE BASKETS, LIKE BIG PA TEACH ME"

A COMMUNITY SCHOOL OF BASKETRY IN THE SEA ISLANDS OF SOUTH CAROLINA

"The basketry shop is reviving the native craft of basket-making which was brought over by the slaves from Africa." See editorial pages for further comment

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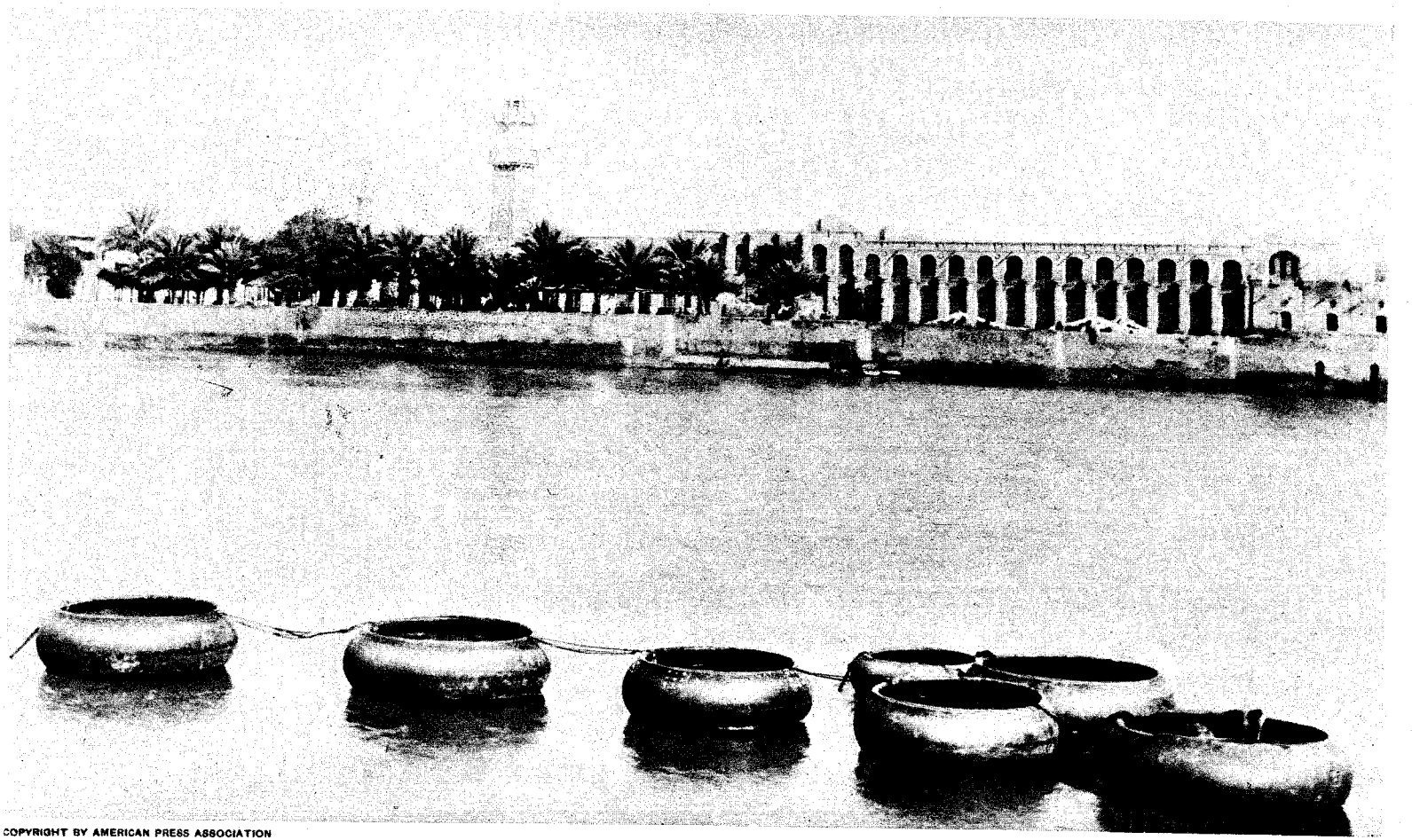

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BAGDAD: HOME OF THE CALIPHS; CELEBRATED IN "THE ARABIAN NIGHTS;" NOW IN THE WAR ZONE

This celebrated city is the objective point of an English force which is reported to be nearing striking distance. The photograph shows a part of the Turkish barracks. In the foreground are some of the peculiar skin boats which are used in crossing the Tigris River, on whose banks the city is situated

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IMPROVED CONDITIONS IN THE COAL FIELDS

The anthracite operators are engaged in a concerted endeavor to make work safer and living more comfortable for the miners. This illustration shows a prize-winning cottage in a model village called "Concrete City" near the Truesdale Mine of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad Company. All the tenants of "Concrete City" are employees of the Truesdale Colliery, and the prizes were offered to them for the most attractively embellished houses and grounds

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REPRESENTATIVE CLAUDE KITCHIN, THE NEW DEMOCRATIC LEADER IN THE HOUSE

Mr. Kitchin is the successor of Oscar W. Underwood as Democratic floor leader in the House of Representatives. He was born at Scotland Neck, North Carolina, in 1869, and has lived there all his life. He is a lawyer by profession. Notwithstanding his position as party leader, he has publicly announced his opposition to President Wilson's policy of military preparedness

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WHAT LABOR MEN ARE THINKING ABOUT

AN ACCOUNT OF THE RECENT CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE BY CHARLES STELZLE

AT the thirty-fifth annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in San Francisco from November 8 to 22, over one hundred and fifty resolutions were carefully considered by fifteen committees, consisting of men of experience in labor matters and in public service.

It is not surprising that this Convention of labor men should have given first place to the problem of making a living. It was again demonstrated that secession is the chief heresy in the labor movement. This is quite different from heresy in the Church. In the labor movement it is insisted that if a man or a group of men have a disagreement with the main body they must remain loyal to the organization until in some way the differences are hammered out, whereas in the Church it is declared that the one who has divergent views from the main body of ecclesiastics must resign forthwith or be expelled. No doubt the principle of self-preservation has a great deal to do with this attitude on the part of labor men.

Delegates representing the liquor and allied industries have been threatening from year to year to force a vote in the Convention in favor of the liquor traffic, or at least against prohibition or any other movement which threatens to destroy the liquor business. But the delegates who represented these various bodies found at the Convention so strong a sentiment opposed to their tactics that they were easily persuaded to withhold their resolutions. It was observed that the delegates who represented the bartenders' and brewery workers' unions were careful to avoid taking part in any discussion on any subject whatsoever, for fear of making enemies among the delegates who might be displeased with their attitude. A resolution introduced by the Butcher Workmen of America, protesting against "certain organized crafts" which were opposing them in securing one day's rest in seven, was aimed at the trade-unionists in the liquor business, who were fighting with their bosses against Sunday-closing legislation. The Convention unanimously stood by the Butcher Workmen.

In a discussion on the churches and unemployment, Thomas Van Lear, a delegate who represented the International Association of Machinists, but who is also a prominent Socialist in Minneapolis, where he was a candidate for the office of Mayor, said:

> Instead of building lodging-houses, why don't the palatial churches open their doors to the migratory workers in winter? Most of the churches have nice big cushion seats, which are much better than any trappings a lodging-house could afford. Why not ask our Christian church friends, who are always so very deeply interested in labor conditions, to open upon week days the churches which on Sundays are so chilly toward the workingman?

The fraternal delegate who represented the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ was on his feet in an instant to make reply, but before he was recognized by President Gompers, James Duncan, first Vice-President of the Federation, defended the churches in vigorous fashion, saying that in times of industrial depression no other organization did more than the Church in furnishing help of various kinds to the poor and the unemployed. This speech was applauded by the delegates, although a few people in the gallery hissed, and when the delegate who represented the Federal Council spoke, he was also cheered.

The entire affair indicated that the Convention as a whole was friendly toward the Church and desired its good will—quite in contrast to the feeling of labor conventions held about a dozen years ago.

It was evident in this discussion, however, that what the delegates desired was not charity, but justice, although Mr. Gompers pointed out that when a municipality provided shelters for the unemployed it was not "charity," any more than furnishing public school facilities for workingmen's children was charity.

Most of the time of the Convention was occupied in discussing jurisdictional matters. The development of industry, requiring specialization in the manipulation of wood, iron, stone, and other materials, constantly raises the question of jurisdiction over certain new groups of workers or over old groups which are doing new work. Some of the bitterest

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quarrels in the labor movement are due to the inability of certain international officers to agree on a plan of procedure which would be just to all the workers. It means, in some cases, that the international officers would lose their jobs.

Certain central labor unions and State organizations will be compelled to revise their attitude toward "militarism" because of the action of the Convention. The resolution upon which the entire issue was raised protested against teaching in the public schools the manual of arms and other military knowledge, as well as conducting military drills, which are common in some of the upper schools. The Convention voted down the resolution after a long and bitter debate, during which President Gompers confessed that after forty years of the advocacy of peace because he felt sure that, as a last resort, organized labor throughout the world would not engage in war against the workingmen of the nations, the present European war had completely shattered his hopes and his ideals.

Socialism had its customary fling at the conservatives in the Convention. It was manifested when three Socialists recorded their votes against the re-election of Samuel Gompers as President. These were the only delegates who voted against him. The entire group of officers of the Federation were re-elected for another year. But there is a growing feeling in the Convention among the radicals that an entirely new régime should be inaugurated—that the present office-holders are too comfortable, and therefore too easily satisfied.

Industrial unionism was discussed by virtue of the presentation of a resolution calling for the appointment of a commission to study the entire subject. Industrial unionism means the formation of all men working about mines, for example, into a single mine-workers' union, whether these men be occupied as engineers, machinists, blacksmiths, or actual diggers, instead of becoming identified with unions composed of men of their own particular crafts.

It is interesting in this connection to note that in the brewing industry, which is an "industrial" organization in its trade-union relationships, there are more teamsters employed than there are bona-fide brewers—according to the Census reports. No wonder the Teamsters' Union has for years been fighting the Brewery Workers' Union over the question as to who should control the teamsters!

The Convention decided to ask every trade-unionist affiliated with the American Federation of Labor to contribute, on January 27—Samuel Gompers's birthday—the earnings of the second hour of the day toward a fund to be paid the hatters in Danbury, Connecticut, who had lost their property through the decision of the courts in the famous Danbury hatters' boycott case. This action is to be purely voluntary, as the Federation cannot legally assess its membership for such a purpose.

Fraternal delegates are annually sent to the Convention by the British Trades Congress and the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress. It was assumed that the English delegates would refrain from speaking about the war because of "the delicacy of the situtation," but, to the amazement of the Convention, Fraternal Delegate E. Bevin, a member of the Dock Workers' Union and "one of Ben Tillett's boys," delivered an address which was a terrific arraignment of the handling of the war from the economic standpoint.

Here are some of Mr. Bevin's comments:

One gentleman, in talking of conscription—a man who had fought us very bitterly in the transport trade—said: "If we only had conscription in Britain, we could save so many millions per year." War then would merely be a pastime for them. They would be home while the other fellow was getting killed. The labor leaders told Premier Asquith, "If you will take over the means of living and prevent an increase in the cost of living, we will not ask you for an increase of wages." He failed to accept our offer. We determined to maintain that standard of living that we had prior to the war while any one else was making a cent out of the war. I think our policy is right, and it is just, and it is in accord with the best traditions of our movement. . .

The privileges and regulations the trades unions had given up in the interests of their country—and you, friends, know what it means to the trade unions to allow the lower class of labor to be brought into the higher grades of industry—meant that the result of a century of struggle had been given away in the interest of the nation. The giving up of that, I say, is equal to the landowner giving his land, the financier his money, the railway director his railway, the mine-owner his mine; and if national service has to be given, the national resources must also go into the communal melting-pot. If the country is in danger, then property is in danger; if property is to be saved from a foreign foe, then it has to be saved at the expense of the lives of the people; and we have decided that they shall not conscript our bodies

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unless they conscript every form of national asset within those islands.

In an atmosphere which is naturally strongly anti-Japanese it was significant that, for the first time in the history of the Federation, two Japanese, representing the Laborers' Friendly Society of Japan, were given "the courtesy of the Convention," although not received as fraternal delegates. A very happy address was given by Mr. B. Suzuki, which was heartily approved by the delegates. His associate was S. Yoshimatsu.

Considerable attention was given to the Seamen's Bill which was passed by the last Congress, and Andrew Furuseth, of the Seamen's Union, received an ovation because of his indefatigable efforts to have the bill enacted into law.

The next Convention will be held in Baltimore.

THE SECURITY LEAGUE CONFERENCE

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE FROM CHICAGO

IN less than a year the National Security League has grown from a single privately appointed committee to an organization with thirty thousand members and seventy branches scattered throughout the entire United States. Fifteen Governors and fifty Mayors of cities have associated themselves with the movement by the appointment of committees to co-operate with the Security League in the campaign for preparedness. In New York City, for example, Mayor Mitchel has appointed a committee of a thousand men to aid in the work of calling the attention of Congress to the growing demand for preparation against the perils of war.

The National Security League has enlisted men from all parties and all creeds. It has not accepted and will not accept contributions for its support from any one whose immediate financial interests might be furthered by a programme of preparedness. Its officers are unpaid and its membership is open to all.

This, in brief, is the outline and history of the organization of the National Security League, whose first general conference was held at Chicago on November 27. More than two hundred delegates attended. The largest number came from the Middle West and the Atlantic seaboard. Delegates, however, attended from as far West as California; others came from Louisiana and Tennessee.

Particularly significant was the attitude of those from the Middle West, for this section of the country has by many been regarded as the key to the solution of the problem of National preparedness. Removed from any thought of attack by sea, it is in this region that the time-honored tradition of American invincibility has, perhaps, flourished most luxuriantly.

This is not to say, however, that any part of the country can rightly claim to have been free from this distinctive mark of provincial egotism. We have all sinned joyously together against the dictates of reason, common sense, and costly experience.

It was no academic question that the delegates came here from all over the country to discuss. Furthermore, the question of National defense is one which the delegates very evidently desired to keep out of politics. Yet with this desire to obtain the support of all parties for a sane programme of National preparedness there was no indication of any willingness to accept an inadequate programme in order to prevent making National defense a political issue. As the President and founder of the League, Mr. S. Stanwood Menken, said in his opening address: "We believe we should prepare to fight, and if need be we will fight to prepare."

There were many Democrats among the delegates to the Conference, but no effort was made to force a vote in favor of the programme for preparedness as it has been outlined by the Administration. Indeed, many features of both the army and navy programme as laid down by the Administration were critically discussed both in the reports of the standing committees and from the floor of the Conference. The burden of these criticisms emphasized the fact that the country has no direct means of knowing how far the programme of the Administration represents the expert opinion of the General Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the Army. There was an insistent demand for the publication of the recommendations of these two expert bodies, together with the modifications made in these recommendations by the President and his civilian Secretaries. Delegates to the Conference accepted as a self-evident

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fact the statement that the problem of preparedness was too pressing and too vital to suffer in any way from the dictates of political and financial expediency.

One of the wholesome indications of the desire for a sane and adequate solution to the problem of National defense made itself felt in the discussion which centered around this very point. In the past we have dealt with the problem of defense in accordance with our desires rather than our needs. As a Nation, represented by Congress, we have never been ready to accept the obvious conclusions deducible from even a slight knowledge of our foreign policies and our domestic necessities. We have advocated a Monroe Doctrine which we could not support; we have followed a policy of irritating exclusiveness towards Asiatics, the validity of which rested neither on studied courtesy nor on conscious power. In regard to Mexico we have forbidden foreign interference and yet have declined to act effectively on the responsibility we have thus assumed. A lack of military strength has paralyzed our will.

It was with this background of fact in mind that the delegates to the Chicago Conference of the National Security League adopted, after earnest debate, the following resolutions:

The National Security League in convention assembled, believing the truth embodied in the words of General Washington in his farewell address to the American people, that preparedness for war is the best guarantee of peace, and realizing that this Nation is unprepared to protect itself against attack and invasion by foreign enemies and to discharge the obligation of National defense laid upon the Government by the Federal Constitution, and believing that National defense is the most vital subject now before the American people, does hereby make to the President of the United States, to Congress, and to the Nation the following recommendations:

1. That the complete recommendations of the Navy General Board and General Staff of the Army be made public at once for the information of the people.

2. That Congress be urged to create promptly a permanent Council of National Defense, and that the duties of this Council cover all matters pertaining to the complete defense of the United States.

3. That the navy be strengthened at once to a size adequate for the defense of the Nation and for the fulfillment of our National obligations.

4. That the necessary personnel of the navy be authorized at once to man existing vessels fully and that additional personnel needed with each new vessel be authorized, together with the necessary reserve.

5. That a mobile army be authorized of sufficient strength to repel any expeditionary landing force, and that the army be organized in accordance with modern scientific methods with the sole view to efficiency and economy.

6. That an ample reserve army be authorized as the secondary line of defense, and special arrangements made to secure and instruct a suitable number of officers for such reserve army; that adequate provision be made for reserve material, ammunition, and supplies for both army and navy, and that proper laws be enacted to enable the United States to control all military resources when required. And, further, that adequate provision be made to develop the National Guard to the highest degree of efficiency, and that steps be taken to ultimately develop an efficient armed citizenry from the present unorganized militia.

7. We recommend that the National consciousness and spirit of true patriotism be fostered and developed through education in school and college, and in every walk of life, to the end that our citizens may ungrudgingly make the sacrifices indispensable to the successful execution of any programme of National defense.

The programme as outlined here was put forward as one not too definite to arouse the hostility of any faction, nor too indefinite to excite the thought that the League and its growing membership will be satisfied with anything less than an adequate solution of the problem of National defense. No one who believes in a democracy guided by expert opinion can object to the insistence upon the publication of the recommendations of the General Board of the Navy and the General Staff of the Army. No one who believes in efficiency and centralized responsibility can object to the organization of a permanent council of National defense, a step which The Outlook has repeatedly recommended. The provision for a mobile army sufficient to repel an expeditionary landing force and the return of our navy to at least the relative second position which it held undisputedly a few years ago are necessary corollaries to any plan for National preparedness. To any one familiar with the difficulty of providing trained officers and men for the manning of our vessels of war, and to the woeful lack of both officers and men from which we at present suffer, it must seem amazing that any popular movement is required to secure from Congress a sufficient naval personnel.

HAROLD T. PULSIFER.

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KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

SAYING PRAYERS

Please some time tell the way to make children from six to twelve understand prayer. Can they be made to know the mental and spiritual attitude of communion with God? And that the mind and soul must have that attitude in prayer? Perhaps my request will be clearer when I tell you that the prayer teaching to children which I most often hear seems so wrong that I cannot listen to it without a degree of condemnation and a feeling that it is near to sacrilege.

Can I make it plainer? A child repeats "Now I lay me down," etc., and as soon as the hurried "take" is spoken says, "Joe hit me to-day, and I'll hit him to-morrow." Or, on rising from her knees, one child says to another, "Stop, I tell you," and gives the other a slap. Sometimes the mother, wanting to go to other duties, says, "Come, *do* hurry and say your prayers and get into bed. Remember, you are to put on clean dresses to-morrow." Or to one child the mother says, "Stop your noise while Bettie says her prayers," and as soon as Bettie does finish, the mother continues, "*Now*, what do you want?"

I WISH that I could think that this is satire, not history, but I am afraid it is a common occurrence. Such teaching is preparing the child to be either a cynical skeptic or a formalist if not a hypocrite; either to believe that all prayer is a performance and all worship a sham, or to believe that saying prayers is praying, and that to conform to the established etiquette of religion is piety. The second is the more disastrous result of the two. Formalism is worse than unbelief, as insincerity is worse than boorishness.

Saying prayers is not praying. Praying is talking with God. Observe, I do not say *to* God, but *with* God. How can I talk with an unseen person? How can I talk with any one else? All conversation is a communion of invisible persons through visible symbols.

A son is going away from home. An hour before he is to take the train he has a "heart-to-heart talk" with his mother. Those two hearts are invisible. This mother and son see each other—that is to say, they see each other's faces and the clothes they wear; but it is the hearts that talk, and the hearts are not seen.

The son takes his train, and the next morning early the mother is called up on the long-distance telephone. She hears her son's voice and recognizes it. They talk again. This time they do not see each other's faces; but they recognize each other's voices, though several hundred miles separate them.

The following morning she finds a letter from John in the early mail. Now she neither sees him nor hears his voice, but she recognizes the handwriting, and the heart-to-heart talk is continued without either sight or sound.

She has given him some counsel. He has not decided whether or not he will follow it. The next morning she gets from him by telegraph a day letter. It contains his promise. "I shall not forget your wise counsel," it says. Now she neither sees him nor hears his voice nor has his handwriting; but her heart is made glad.

The next morning is her birthday. When she comes down to breakfast, she finds a bunch of forget-me-nots on her plate. "Which of you," she says, as she looks about upon her smiling children, "gave me these forget-me-nots?" "None of us," replies the daughter; "John telephoned us to lay them on your plate. We asked him if he had any message, and he said no. You would understand." The tears glisten in the mother's eyes as she pins the flowers to her dress. The youngest child, at her side, looks up and asks: "What are you crying for, mother?" "Never mind," she replies; "I couldn't tell you. You couldn't understand." And she could not tell. No words could interpret to another what that little bunch of flowers means to her.

"Spirit with spirit can meet." All conversation, all correspondence, all literature, is the meeting of spirit with spirit. They are the interchange of invisible experiences between invisible personalities. The words are only the wires; the wires are seen, but the messages are not seen. A friend speaks across thousands of miles of land and sea, and a heart responds to his heart. A poet, a prophet, a heroic master, speaks across thousands of years in time, and our hearts respond to his speaking. In the library are the silent spirits

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of the great thinkers and actors of the past. I take down a book, and the grave gives up its dead and the great man sits by my side. In his Gettysburg speech the spirit of Abraham Lincoln still summons us to consecrated patriotism; in the Twenty-third Psalm the unknown singer still calls us to a brave and trustful pilgrimage.

Thoughts are more than words. Conversation is more than an interchange of words. How often have you interrupted your companion with, "You do not understand me." He heard the words; but, either through your fault or his, the words did not carry to his mind the message with which your mind had freighted them. It is not only the telephone which fails to give important messages clearly.

Prayer is not a duty paid to God—so much prayer, so much duty done. At a reception the guest first pays his respects to the hostess; then he is free to enjoy himself as he will. So men sometimes imagine that once a day, or at least once a week, they must pay their respects to their Creator. Then they can give themselves to the gratification of their own will with a satisfied conscience. Sometimes we hire some one else to perform this duty for us, as kings sometimes send their secretaries to perform their social functions. My wife once went into an English church at morning prayers; she was a trifle late, and the rector was saying, "I pray and beseech you, as many as are here present, to accompany me with a pure heart and humble voice unto the throne of the heavenly grace;" and there was not, except the rector, a man, woman, or child in the church. He was saying prayers vicariously for the people.

Praying is not asking for things. We do not go to the altar as we go to the market. Prayer is not a kind of shopping expedition by which we hope to get special favors for ourselves or our friends. I do not ask God to do my duty for me; I ask him to give me vision to see and courage to do my duty for myself. Nor do I tell him about the massacre of the Armenians, as though he did not know, or beg him with wrestling to interfere, as though he did not care. I seek in his presence to learn if there is anything I can do. If not, I leave to him the solution of world problems too perplexing for me to understand, and throw on him world burdens too great for me to bear. Faber interprets prayer for me:

"I do the little I can do,
And leave the rest to God."

What I want is not things, but life; not gifts, but God. And I believe in prayer, as all true praying souls believe in prayer, not because we get things for our praying, but because we get life in prayer; not because we get gifts, but because we get fellowship with God. When we forget the present and think of the ages—the ages that are past and the ages that are to come—when we forget ourselves and our wills and think of the Master and the Master's will, when we forget our little share and think of the great work in which we have that little share, the mists lighten and fears flee away. "In thy light shall we see light," said the Psalmist. In his light we do see light. "I can do all things through Christ that strengtheneth me," said Paul. There are times when this seems not too great a courage.

"Spirit with spirit can meet." We who believe in prayer see that all human intercourse is a meeting of invisible spirit with invisible spirit through visible symbols, and we believe that we have intercourse with an invisible spirit without symbols. We cannot analyze him nor define him, and so it may be said that we do not know him; and yet we are intimate with him; he is our Great Companion. And if any one says that the answer to our aspirations comes to us from our own better selves, I will answer in the words of the Psalmist: "The Lord will hear when I call upon him. . . . Commune with your own heart upon your bed, and be still." It is the God within us who is our own better selves. It is the God within us who answers our aspirations. To pray is to enter into ourselves.

If the mother would teach her child to pray, she must first know how to pray herself. Then if she kneels by her child's bed, and in simple words commits her household to the keeping of him who slumbers not nor sleeps, her child will catch something of his mother's spirit and trustfulness, and in time, learning to join with the mother in the words as he has already joined with her in the spirit of reverence and repose, will learn to pray. The mother who has no such experience cannot inspire it in her child, but must leave it to be given by some one better equipped than herself.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-the-Hudson.

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THE NATIONS AT WAR

I—THE MAN FROM CONSTANTINOPLE

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

*"The Man from Constantinople" must remain unnamed for reasons concerning his personal safety and usefulness, but his name is known to the editors of The Outlook, who join in Mr. Ellis's assurances of his special knowledge and reliability as a witness and reporter.—*THE EDITORS.

WE were seated by a window of a New York club, looking down upon the hurrying tide of Fifth Avenue, but our talk was of another metropolis, more cosmopolitan and colorful, and throughout twenty-five centuries more of a factor in human history than any other city on the face of the globe. The man by my side had just arrived from Constantinople, fuller of news from the war's most interesting center than a month's newspapers. And I determined to play the part of a second-hand war correspondent, sure of an assortment of "scoops" over all the newspaper men on the spot.

For this erect, clear-eyed, deliberate-spoken man by my side has many advantages over all the men of the writing craft who are now or recently have been in Constantinople. He lives in the land. His knowledge is the accumulation of years of close familiarity and keen appraisal, so that he understands news in its relationships. No single fact, or set of facts, disturbs his equipoise. He has never had to rush off to a cable or a newspaper office with his latest gleanings. His is the judicial mind and serene spirit which come from familiarity with troubled circumstances. The farmer whose barn burns has acquired a conversational staple that will serve him for years; but the man who has lived through massacres and revolutions and wars is in no hurry to display his conversational wares.

Of course, I cannot tell my friend's name nor yet describe him too accurately, for he is going back to Constantinople, and he could be hanged or shot there for some of the facts he revealed in his quiet, matter-of-fact talk in those few hours we spent together in a New York club. Naturally, this correspondent-by-proxy, if I may so label him, speaks several languages—Turkish, Arabic, German, French, and English, with a smattering of Greek and Italian and other tongues of the polyglot Ottoman Empire. He is not dependent upon bazar or coffee-house or drawing-room rumors for his information, for he is the familiar of the Young Turks in power as well of the Germans who give orders to the Turks, and of an assortment of ambassadors and missionaries as well. To call the roll of his personal friends would be to write a list of "Who's Who" in Turkey. He knows intimately the country, from the Sinai Desert to the Taurus Mountains, and from the Tigris River to the Bosphorus. The very intimacy and completeness of his knowledge impair his art as a "special correspondent," for a *caique* and a *kelek* are so familiar to him that he would never dream of expounding these craft as strange; and he would no more think of mentioning the Towers of Mohammed II, on the Bosphorus, or the ancient Galata Tower, than a New Yorker would think of mentioning the statue of Greeley in Herald Square or the Flatiron Building. Never a word did he say about the tawdriness of the offices of the high Turkish officials or concerning the ragamuffins who serve as orderlies to the Frenchified dandy who is Minister of War. If you want to know how to make yourself as comfortable as possible overnight in a Turkish khan or a Bedouin tent, or in the diminutive prairie schooner called an *araba*, my friend could tell you if you asked; but he would never volunteer the information, any more than you would tell a stranger the nature of the conveniences in an American guest chamber. Have I sufficiently given the credentials of the Man from Constantinople? There is plenty more to be said, but this is not a personal sketch of him; it is only a sort of editorial preface concerning a special correspondent who does not know that he is serving as such.

"When is Constantinople going to fall?" I asked, fatuously, putting the big question first.

"*In'sh Allah*" (God knows), came the exasperating reply that I have heard given to hundreds of questions in many parts of that

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fantastic Empire. "When I left, the Germans were confident that the Allies would never get through the Dardanelles. The Turks, on the other hand, were pessimistic. The consensus of opinion among Turks and foreigners alike was that unless the Germans quickly got through to the relief of Constantinople the city would fall within a month. More than a month has elapsed since then, and the city still stands. The depression among the Turks is pathetic; they know their nation is doomed.

"If they could do so, the Turks would make a separate peace to-morrow. But the Allies will have none of it. They say they will not leave the Turkish job half done this time. So the Turks understand full well that they are done for as a nation, even if the Germans win."

"Is it true that there is friction between the Germans and the Turks?"

"Constant. They quarrel whenever they meet. On campaigns the German and Turkish staffs always have to occupy separate headquarters because of these inevitable clashes. If they dared to do so, the Turks would quit the Germans in a minute. But they simply cannot get along without them. It is only German efficiency that makes possible this brilliant Turkish resistance. The Turks furnish the men, but the Germans equip and direct them.

"The difference is temperamental. Both parties are high-handed and rather overbearing. The one thing the Turk can do superlatively is to be top dog; but the Germans deny him this privilege. They cannot be patient under the slipshod, feckless Turkish ways, and make no effort to conceal their contempt. Besides, the Germans do not speak Turkish, and that increases the misunderstandings. Underlying all is the conviction that the Germans involved Turkey in the war by a trick, and that, moreover, should success come, the Ottoman Empire would in reality be only a vassal of the Kaiser. That they have nothing to gain and everything to lose is perfectly patent to Turkish leaders.

"The older and more conservative Turks, who blame the Young Turks for precipitating this Teutonic avalanche of war, talked of a movement to restore Abdul Hamid, who is still in Constantinople, at the time when the present Sultan was so ill; but he recovered, and that dream has been dissipated."

This subject brought up anew the most interesting conjecture in all the picturesque recent history of the Near East: "Who really is the power behind the Young Turk party?"

My friend's eyes twinkled behind his glasses as he stroked his beard. "I suppose there really is that supremely powerful 'Man of Mystery,' whose identity has never been proved. Speculation has fixed upon many men, always mere subordinates, whose will is obeyed by those in ostensible authority. Everybody knows that the nominal head of the Committee of Union and Progress has not the brains or the force to be the real leader."

"You mean Enver Pasha?"

"Yes. As you know, he is a mere 'boy hero,' a sort of handsome lay figure set astride a white charger and put at the head of the constitutionalists at the time of the revolution. His figure is on the medal then given to the soldiers; and he prizes, even above the Order of Merit which he received from the Kaiser a few weeks ago, the title of the 'Hero of the Revolution,' by which the populace used to acclaim him. Of course he was merely a stage property, used to stir the popular imagination with his 'Do or die' declamations. He is reckless and irresponsible, and in no wise equal to the grave obligations of high Government position. Essentially he is a poser. His favorite attitude is to receive visitors lolling magnificently in a certain corner of his residence, with pictures of Napoleon and Frederick the Great above his head—the visitor, of course, being expected to think in threes!"

Remembering that Enver Pasha is German trained, I inquired the reason for the strange omission of the Kaiser's picture. Does he dispute with William a place in the triumvirate?

"Partly so. Despite his German schooling and experiences, Enver Pasha is resentful toward Germany. It tricked his country into this conflict, and it forced the calling of a 'holy war,' all because of a desire to make trouble for Britain in Afghanistan and among her Moslem subjects. Enver sees the ruin of most of his dreams, and he has amassed a huge private fortune which he has stowed safely away, hoping that his good luck will enable him to get from under the débris when the crash comes. The difficulty about that is that the Allies have served notice upon these Young Turk leaders that after the war they will be held personally responsible for their crimes against non-combatants."

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"What of Talaat Bey?"

"He has far more brains than Enver. He plans and puts through all these terrible schemes, such as the Armenian atrocities, and yet succeeds in making Enver seem responsible for them. Suave, cynical, reckless, Talaat, who is Paris-bred, resembles the villain in a melodrama. He openly boasts that he has done more to 'settle' the Armenian question in thirty days than Abdul Hamid did in thirty years. He has likewise publicly threatened to kill all the Jews in Turkey, and also to do for the Greek Christians in the country what he has done for the Armenians. Talaat Bey is the evil genius of the 'deportation' of the Armenians."

"The third of the Young Turk triumvirate is Djemal Pasha, is he not?"

"He was, but the Mayor of the city, Bedry Bey, has in a fashion taken his place, although not a member of the Cabine tat all. Djemal Pasha has some principles, and he would not go along with the others in their mad schemes, so they made him commander of the forces in Syria, in which he makes his headquarters sometimes in Jerusalem, sometimes in Aleppo, and sometimes in Damascus. He is not fanatically anti-Christian, and he argues that the war is a Turkish war and not a *jehad*. Because of his sanity Syria has been free from many of the excesses that have characterized the recent rule in Asia Minor and Armenia and Mesopotamia.

"As for the Sultan, he, poor fellow, is the shadowiest kind of figurehead. He is depressed and ill and hopeless. Even the Sheik-ul-Islam has revolted from the sanguinary course of the Young Turks."

Ever and anon our talk came up against the Armenian atrocities, that hideous nightmare in the background, but, as if by mutual agreement, we veered off from it until later. At one of these points I asked about the safety of American life and property in Turkey at present.

"As you know, the capitulations have been abolished. Neither the United States nor any other foreign nation has agreed to this, but the Turks regard as an accomplished fact the wiping out of all the special privileges formerly extended to foreigners. They can treat an American as they would a native, searching his house and person, and throwing him into prison. They have done so. Various American mission properties are already in their possession.

"They threatened to take Robert College and the beautiful new Constantinople College for Women, both of which properties were built by American philanthropy and are owned in New York. The crisis was expected at the beginning of the summer, when the college year ended. Ambassador Morgenthau quietly moved his own summer home to the College for Women and flew the Embassy flag above it, thus insuring the safety of one set of buildings. Then he arranged that, if Robert College could not be saved, it should be used by the American Red Cross, with American missionary doctors in charge.

"Ambassador Morgenthau is the greatest man in Turkey at this present hour; his praise is on everybody's lips." Thereupon the Man from Constantinople proceeded to tell incidents enough concerning Ambassador Morgenthau to fill a page and to knock into the proverbial cocked hat the notion that only professionally trained diplomatists could serve the nation efficiently in a crisis. That theory is not heard so often nowadays, since Morgenthau and Gerard and Herrick and Page and Whitlock and van Dyke have so shiningly embodied and expressed America's most characteristic traits and best international ideals during the past eighteen months.

"Are the Americans safe in Turkey?" was the next blunt question.

"Safe, yes—at present. We have, under orders from headquarters, sent most of the women and children out of the country, or else to the ports where the war-ships could quickly reach them. There are many evidences of a new hostility, to take the place of the former exceptional friendship of Turkey towards Americans. The Germans are systematically spreading this sentiment, I am sorry to say. They resent America's attitude toward their country since the war began, and the Turks themselves know of our special interest in the Armenians. This is a phase that will pass, but when the final collapse comes who will be safe? At present there are many annoyances and limitations to Americans; and those who leave their residences outside of the capital are not permitted to return."

The phrase "Red Cross" had arrested my attention. "Do you mean to say that there is an American Red Cross work being done in Turkey, that really uses the cross emblem?"

"Rather curious, isn't it? In spite of the *jehad* the Americans have conducted hospital

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and dispensary work, under the Red Cross flag both in Constantinople and with the military expedition at Suez. In Constantinople two American missionary doctors, named Ward and Hoover, are in charge, and some five hundred beds are kept filled with wounded soldiers in a building that was formerly British. The nursing also is done by Americans. Even on the trip through Syria, down to Beersheba, the Red Cross unit displayed its emblem constantly, I am told, and there was no objection. Indeed, when the Suez expedition raided and destroyed the quarantine station at Tor, in the Red Sea, which the Egyptian Government maintained for the welfare of Egyptian pilgrims to Mecca, the British medical supplies were turned over to the American Red Cross."

As desultory conversation will do, our talk flitted from one phase of Turkey to another, butterfly fashion. Tor and Suez brought Mecca and Egypt into view, and I inquired, "What of the Haj?"

"The pilgrimage amounted practically to nothing this year. You see, nobody from outside of Turkey could get in. All the gates to the holy places—Mecca, Medina, Kerbela, Nejef, Jerusalem, Damascus, and Constantinople—are closed to foreigners. The 'neighbors of Allah' at Mecca must be having a lean year, for the 'guests of Allah' are few and poor.

"Naturally, the Christian pilgrimages to the sacred sites in the Holy Land have ceased, and Jerusalem and all the other communities in Palestine which depend so largely upon this traffic for their income have been hard hit. What with the presence of the locusts and the absence of the travelers, plus war times, the Holy Land has had a taste of real famine."

Our talk tarried over the effect of the war and the *jehad* upon the foreigners who have been drawn to homes in Palestine because of the land's sacred associations.

"All the Jews were given the choice of becoming Ottoman subjects or of leaving the country. Seven or eight thousand of them were carried from Jaffa to Alexandria by the United States war-ships. Moses delivered the Jews *from* Egypt; Uncle Sam delivered them *to* Egypt. The distress of these refugees and of those who could not get away was pitiable.

"As you are aware, the monks and priests in charge of the Christian shrines, such as the Church of the Holy Sepulcher, the Garden of Gethsemane, the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem, etc., have mostly been French and Italian Roman Catholics or members of the Russian Church. These, together with the teachers of the Franciscan and Jesuit and Dominican schools, have all been driven from the Empire, and warned that they are not to be allowed to return, even after the war. While the *religieuse* have been merely deported, other civilians of enemy nations have been interned, first at Damascus, and then later at Urfa, in upper Mesopotamia.

"Some of these are having pretty hard times, I am afraid. The Germans are especially bitter. Before Turkey was involved in the war a Canadian teacher called upon his long-time friend, the German Consul at Damascus. The latter refused to let him in the house, and, coming to the door himself, tried to send him away with bitter railings. The teacher was patient and remonstrated, 'But I am not calling as a Britisher or to talk about the war, but, as your friend of many years, to pay a purely social call.'

"'It does not matter. You are British, and I hate you. You cannot set foot in my house'—and the Consul actually spat at his former friend. The by-products of war are not pretty, are they?"

When the geography of our conversation had shifted to Syria, I sought light upon that mysterious Egyptian expedition of the Turkish army—the attempt last winter to cross the Suez Canal. The cablegrams have been meager and uninforming: no real news has to this day been given out, except the fact that the expedition had failed to accomplish its object.

"That move was all a mistake, and both the Germans and the Turks knew it at the time. Still, they had to make the attempt to 'deliver Egypt,' for sentimental reasons. The people, who took seriously the bombastic utterances at the time of the declaration of the 'holy war,' demanded it; and even in Turkey rulers must give some head to public opinion. The force, which was twenty-five thousand strong, under Djemal Pasha, made elaborate preparations at Aleppo, Beirat, Damascus, and Jerusalem. Metal pontoons were devised and carried across the desert—you may now see them, bullet-riddled, on display in the Zoölogical Gardens in Cairo. Because of the Allies' war-ships in the Mediterranean, the troops could not follow the historic caravan route down along the sea-

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shore to Suez, and so they came down through Nablus (the ancient Shechem) and Hebron. The base was established at Beersheba.

"Meanwhile, various schemes were afoot to block the Canal. One was the sending in of a neutral ship filled with dry cement, which was to be swung crosswise and sunk. The British secret service, however, blocked that clever scheme, and the ship was captured as she entered, and the cement used for fortifications. Apparently the British knew all that was going forward. Their aeroplane service made surprises on the desert practically impossible. The Turks had one aeroplane at Aleppo, but it was wrecked on its first flight. There were also two aeroplanes at Constantinople, but the troops had not been informed of this fact, and so they mistook them for enemy air-craft and destroyed them!

"Luck was against the Suez expedition from the first. They got two hundred men across the Canal—the British say they enticed and permitted them to cross—who, of course, promptly fell into the enemy's hands. Not another man crossed. You see, all the advantage lay with the British. They had warships in the Canal to aid their troops, and a railway along the bank of the Canal. They had plenty of time to intrench, and were only a couple of hours away from Cairo, with its unlimited supplies of men, munitions, and food.

"Then, of a sudden, the Turkish Staff discovered that they had only two days' supply of food and water left, and they made a forced march back to base, leaving Egypt undelivered. Twenty thousand of the troops went north again, leaving five thousand on guard to keep the British employed. These have done one notable deed, though not at all a difficult feat of arms—they have captured St. Katherine's Monastery, on Mount Sinai, and have driven out the Russian monks. This building, which was somewhat of a fortress, capable of withstanding Bedouin raids, was originally built by the Emperor Justinian, in the sixth century.

"Now, in preparation for another raid on Egypt this winter, the Turks have built a temporary railway, connecting with the Damascus-Haifa line, down through Nablus and Lydda to Beersheba. They have torn up the tracks from Jaffa as far as Lydda, but retain the Jerusalem connection, so that it is now possible to go by rail from Aleppo, far north of Dan, clear down to Damascus and Jerusalem and Beersheba"—from Dan to Beersheba by rail!

"How do the Turkish soldiers feel about the 'holy war'?"

"The common understanding in Constantinople is that the Germans forced the Turks' hand in this. There was no popular or official demand for it. Shrewd politicians knew the peril to the caliphate of forcing the issue of a *jehad*. Nevertheless, with their eyes on India and Egypt, and confidently expecting a wholesale uprising of British Moslems, the Germans insisted, and the *fetva* was issued in full form. The higher Turkish officers take no stock in the 'holy war' idea, but the common soldiers and the stay-at-home ordinary people are for it. As a military device the *jehad* is certainly ingenious and powerful, for it makes men willing to do or endure anything, since paradise is the prize."

That brought us squarely up to the Armenian question. A more excitable person than the Man from Constantinople would have been crying out against it throughout our long talk. But he has ripened in the philosophic East, where the strong learn to hold themselves well in hand, and the hotter the conditions the cooler their heads. I knew that my friend had absolutely unsurpassed facilities for knowing the facts of the Armenian atrocities, and that all his information was illuminated by his own long years of intimate knowledge of Asia Minor and the Armenians. More about his qualifications I may not say, lest I betray his identity. Personally I would take his opinion before that of any other man now on this side of the Atlantic, and as of equal weight with that of any one of less than half a dozen other Americans in Turkey.

His face became sober and stern as he sat in silence for a moment after my question, "Are the atrocities stories true?"

Then he deliberately made answer, "The worst has not been told."

He waited for another question. So I asked, "Do you believe that there have been six hundred thousand Armenians slain, aside from those killed in the army?"

"My information did not total quite that high at the time of leaving Constantinople."

"Half a million, then?"

"Oh, yes; far more than that," he quickly replied.

More than half a million Christians, at least three-fourths of them women and children, done to death in a "holy war," within the past six months—a total greater than all the martyrdoms of the first three centuries—

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the thing seemed incredible. I was glad that the Man from Constantinople did not attempt to harrow my soul with tales of individual atrocities.

"Is it all really up to the Government?"

"Beyond a question. Talaat Bey boasts of it even to the American Ambassador. He cynically and shamelessly declares that he means to get rid of the Armenian question by getting rid of all the Armenians. Nothing less than the extermination of the race is his object; and he and Enver Pasha have been heard to say that they will do the same to the Jews and the Ottoman Greeks, and then, as a grand finale, to the Germans!"

"Whom the gods would destroy they first make mad!" Meanwhile the Turkish madness is causing the most awful festival of slaughter of the innocents that history has known for twenty centuries; and from the ancient churches of the East and from the Christians of the West there ascends hourly the old and bitter cry, "How long, O Lord! how long?"

II—ITALY AND THE BALKAN CRISIS

FROM THE OUTLOOK'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT IN ITALY

Venice, October 22.

THE last fortnight has offered many opportunities for criticism regarding the undiscoverable policy which Italy was going to follow in the face of the Balkan crisis. There was certainly an appearance of vacillation and indecision at a time when clear-sighted and quick resolution seemed imperative. Nevertheless, subsequent events have shown that most of the strictures against the Government were undeserved, though there still remains the mystery as to why the Government, with the effective restraint of the censorship in its control, allowed such an unfortunate impression of its intentions to get abroad in the land.

From the very first day when it became apparent that the diplomacy of the Allies had been outplayed by the Teutons in the Balkans, the "Giornale d'Italia," the quasi-official organ of the Foreign Office, took pains to insist that Italy's hands were entirely free as regards her obligations as an ally in that part of Europe. When Premier Viviani's speech to the French Chamber, some time after, seemed to point the other way, the "Giornale" hastened to "rectify" the impression thus made, both by explaining that the speech had been somewhat incorrectly reported, and by an out-and-out statement that Italy was under no pact to send troops to aid the Allies in the Balkans.

The statement, no doubt, was not meant to be read as an isolated declaration without reference to the context of the entire article; but the fact is that it evoked a mixture of sullen criticism and stupefied regret in the press of the Allies. The newspapers of Petrograd veiled their criticism by an unbelief in the official character of the announcement; those of Paris covered their disappointment under a "moderated enthusiasm;" a Swiss journal went so far as to assert that Italy would withhold her co-operation in the Balkans as she wished to see Servia dismembered; while in London, Lord Cecil, for the Foreign Office, was obliged to state officially that "it would be most regrettable if the least importance were to be attached to the assertion that between us and our allies there existed anything but the most absolute harmony."

To-day, re-reading dispassionately the "Giornale's" articles, one would see that they were essentially an effort—singularly cumbersome and unskilled as writings which must at least have been inspired by the crystalline mind of Sidney Sonnino—to prevent a general stampede toward the new battlefield chosen by Germany, irrespective of the general and larger considerations of allied effort against the central empires. For let it be said here that the prevailing opinion in Italy, as I shall point out later on, is that the Balkan move by Germany, while undoubtedly dangerous, is a symptom of weakness, not of strength.

The declaration made by Italy on October 19 that a state of war existed between herself and Bulgaria cleared up a most unfortunate situation, and was received by all most favorably, even by the Opposition "Secolo," which welcomed it "as attenuating, if not destroying, that sense of discontent which had been generated in this country by journalistic news badly inspired and worse expressed."

The language of that declaration ought to

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put an end to the too frequent insinuations made in America that Italy is fighting only a national battle, with little or no interest in the cause of her Allies. The language of the declaration reads as follows: "Bulgaria having commenced hostilities against Servia, *allying herself with the enemies of Italy* and fighting against her allies, the Italian Government, by order of his Majesty the King, has declared that there exists a state of war between Italy and Bulgaria," the italics being mine. Let us hear no more talk that Italy is not in spirit and in fact with the Allies against *all* the members of the coalition of central Europe. The captious have insinuated that the absence of a declaration of war between Italy and Germany shows that there is no solidarity between the Allies and Italy against the arch-enemy. The fact is that Italy cannot declare war against Germany at present, because the Triple Alliance Treaty has defaulted only against Austria; but she has prepared from the beginning, militarily and diplomatically, to meet German attack. She has taken every step to "blockade" Germany, and to give her no reason, however remote, to consider that anything but an aggressively hostile attitude exists. Diplomatic relations have been completely severed, there exists no mail or telegraphic communication, nothing comes from or goes to Germany from Italy, the few German subjects still remaining here are under the strictest police surveillance, many have been expelled, and the shops owned by Germans in Italy, where they have not been closed, have frequently been sacked by angry mobs. It is Germany that is unwilling to institute formal and open war against Italy; her reasons are unknown, but one consideration may be that there is so much German capital in Italy that it is believed that in case of even a successful attack on this Kingdom her losses financially could not be compensated by the value of victory.

What is so often misinterpreted as Italy's indifference to the common cause of the Allies is her unwillingness to be dictated to by any of her co-laborers as to what she should do at any given time with her forces in order to achieve the common end of defeating the central empires. She is an ally, not a vassal; she has capable military commanders, and diplomatically she is to-day probably one of the only two nations in all Europe possessed of an exceptional personality in its Foreign Office. So, while she has invited and participated in a constant exchange of views and suggestions, she has declined to abdicate her right as to the choice of time and means in the use of the forces at her command.

Keeping this in mind, let us consider Italian opinion and Italy's possible conduct in counter-checking Germany's move in the Balkans.

In this war, and probably in every war, hard steel counts against an enemy like Germany more than any reasoning or appeal to sentiment or justice. The right moral impulse on the sudden German attack in the Balkans was undoubtedly to go *en masse* to the immediate aid of heroic Servia; but a righteous moral impulse may be pregnant with possibilities of military disaster under certain circumstances against an adversary whose principle is that might makes right.

I do not say that this conception expresses the official position of Italy in the Balkan crisis, but something of this nature would appear to be the prevailing tendency in Italian opinion, an opinion formed by two quite generally accepted considerations. These are: first, that the Teutonic attack in the Balkans is the most skillful of the German moves aimed at upsetting the well-considered plans of the Allies for a general offensive, and that Germany counts on its success in achieving this ulterior purpose by her belief that the Allies are still so "unmilitary" that they will rush pellmell into a moral enterprise; and, second, that it is known that the Italian General Staff believes unflinchingly in a strategy of concentration of forces and is opposed to scattering its resources for the purpose of obtaining partial, isolated, and temporary successes.

In regard to the first consideration, it is admitted that the German move is a tremendously clever stroke, not merely because, if successful, her position will be a hundredfold better than it is now, but also because if it fails Germany will not be substantially any worse off than she is now.

Yet it may be asked, as the Italians are asking, is the effort now being put forth by Germany coherent and consistent with the initial and fundamental purposes of the war she has brought upon Europe?

Colonel Borgese, perhaps the most acute of Italian observers, considers this at length in a recent number of the "Corriere della Sera," starting his inquiry with this query: Has Germany had in this war, at any time in

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its development, "a limpid intelligence or a clear-visioned will"?

If we except the sharply clear will of her initial campaign, of appearing to be, and actually to be, stronger than any one else, she has been throughout shifting and chaotic in policy and plan. "She threw herself into the conflict with her eyes veiled by passions and illusions, and in this wise has she continued to fight, though occasionally a chill of possible defeat has seized her." She has disclaimed, one by one, the reasons she put forth at various times about the war, she has attempted to induce each one of her enemies to make a separate peace with her, and there is not a single object for which she has claimed to be fighting that she has not shown a disposition to renounce. "To-day she gives as her reason the necessity of opening a great way towards the Orient, but to do so she has had to manipulate very intricate machinery with the Balkan States and push to an extreme the policy of encouraging Bulgaria—a Bulgaria which has commenced by swallowing another bit of what is left of European Turkey, and which may end by becoming a far more formidable barrier between Germanism and Islam than the much-feared Pan-Slavic one."

German will, contends Colonel Borgese, is clear only in what refers to an immediate or near strategic purpose; it is not far-sighted in its wants and needs except in the one *will-to-win*. Though it grasps, for instance, the idea that to satisfy its colonial desires it must defeat England, it goes about it by attacking the Continental Powers, as if the Congo might be won by destroying the Russian armies. This will-to-win for the sake of winning Colonel Borgese tries to trace to a Teutonic state of mind described by the German word *streben*, for which there is no Latin equivalent, and he reads in that state of mind, viewed in the light of history and of civilization, an activity relentlessly bound to failure.

Returning from this digression to the main consideration of Italy's attitude towards the Balkan crisis, insistence must be made upon the right of choice on the part of Italy as to how she shall contribute towards the success of the common cause. Unless this is borne clearly in mind, the diplomatic and military moves of this country will be entirely misunderstood. Her military decisions must take into account the views and offensive measures of her allies, but must be the responsible resolves of her own General Staff. To hold otherwise would involve, for instance, the understanding that the Anglo-French Staffs should decide when Italian troops were needed to patch up their mistakes in the Dardanelles, or, as an American resident suggested, it might result in England urging Italy to fill gaps in her front in Flanders instead of compelling her own sons, through conscription, to replace the losses.

Insistence must also be made on the fact that Cadorna's strategy of concentrated effort has not only ample and splendid military precedents, but that, as developed by him on the Austro-Italian front, it has had marked benefits, not only for Italy, but for the general plans of the Allies. The test in this respect is not only the amount of territory conquered, but the intensity and the effects of the Italian effort; any other test would leave us to conclude, for instance, as Luigi Barzini points out in a general review of the war, that France has accomplished nothing because she has not advanced appreciably in the territory held by the enemy.

It has been estimated by a neutral observer that at least twenty Austro-German army corps have been "immobilized" by the Italian offensive, counting the forces on the fighting line and the reserves in the war zone. It is not claimed that Italy saved the Russian armies from destruction; but that the violence of the Italian offensive contributed sensibly to relieving the Teutonic pressure on the Czar's lines in September is admitted by all military observers, including those of Russia. The half a million men whom Italy obliges the enemy to keep at her front are half a million men who, if thrown either against the eastern or western allied lines, might quickly decide the war. Nor is it to be overlooked that Italy is not merely immobilizing this heavy contingent of the common enemy, but daily hammering at it and beating it back; she is not merely holding it, but fighting down its strength, and in this respect also she is working for the general plans of the Allies.

What those plans are, in their main and essential lines, is no military secret and can be summarized as follows: To reduce by constant detrition the efficiencies of the Teutonic armies, and to prepare for a general offensive on such a stupendous and merciless scale that, when it comes, it will be irresistible, short, and final.

The first part, generally known as Joffre's

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"nibbling," is being carried out so methodically as to have become almost a mathematical proposition to decide when the wear and tear shall have reached the proper point. It is fairly estimated that three hundred thousand men are killed or otherwise lost to the enemy every month by this method, and Italy is now adding a substantial increase to this relentless reduction of adverse forces.

The second part of the programme is what Germany most fears; by simple mathematical computations she can establish the number of men which, with time, the Allies can roll up against her, and she realizes, what we already are apt to forget, that the control of the seas by her enemies is the most telling factor in the long run against her. Over the seas from which she has been methodically and completely swept away are coming part of that huge supply of armaments and munitions which the Allies are collecting for the great drive.

That when this comes it will be irresistible has been sufficiently shown even to Germany by the terrible Anglo-French offensive of a month ago. That was merely a sample, and it was resorted to in advance of the time set, by the situation in the Balkans, where the fear of and belief in the invincibility of Germany led and still leads the policies of those states. The offensive will not commence in earnest until the Allies are so thoroughly supplied that they will be able to keep up the irresistible bombardment, carried on in Champagne for seventy-two hours, for a period, if necessary, of thirty consecutive days.

This is no secret, and Germany knows it better than any one else. It is this knowledge which, in the opinion of Italian observers, has led her to choose a new field for her offensive in the Balkans. It will either upset the terrible judgment the Allies are preparing or put off the evil day.

It is on this assumption that Italian opinion bases its belief on the necessity of allowing nothing to deviate Italy from her direct part in the supreme plan. It may be a wrong and unreliable assumption, but a consideration of past facts and of the controlling needs of the European situation, as distinguished from the sympathies and sentiments which seem undoubtedly more immediately compelling, give a basis of substance to the Italian opinion. Not that gallant Servia should be left to its fate any more than Belgium has been, but heavy additional sacrifices may have to be borne by the former, as they are still borne in unspeakable measure by the latter, for the sake of the great objective—the downing of that Power which has respect for no small state, and the assuring to every nation "the right of continuing to be itself."

Florence, Italy. GINO C. SPERANZA.

THE VOICE IN BOSTON'S WILDERNESS

BEING SOME ACCOUNT OF FORD HALL: AN EXPERIMENT IN LIBERTY, EQUALITY, AND FRATERNITY; A MILLION-DOLLAR PARADOX IN STRUCTURAL STEEL; AND A PLACE OF WHITE-HOT SPEECH

BY SARA HAMILTON BIRCHALL

I HAD been in Boston just a week, and the Subway dropped me at Park Street looking for an informative policeman. It was half-past five on Sunday afternoon, and I wanted to find Ford Hall.

Tremont Street was full of people, all moving leisurely. There was not a blue helmet in sight. I picked out of the crowd a pleasant-faced, gray-haired woman.

"Pardon me," said I; "can you tell me where Ashburton Place is? I want to go to Ford Hall."

"Ford Hall? Why, yes," she smiled. "I'm going there myself a little later. You turn down by the old Park Street Church—"

We chatted for a block. Margaret Slattery, the welfare teacher, was to speak. I must go early and stand in line—this I had heard before. My companion was to meet a friend and have a cup of chocolate in a drug-store before the meeting—everybody lunched there and met everybody else there. Straight down Park Street—

Down behind the golden dome of the State

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House I found it—a tall, stately building that looked like a bank, its façade fading into majestic dimness high above the corner lamp. There was a ragged knot of people gathered loosely about the steps, although it was two hours before the meeting would begin.

An hour later a double line had formed on either side of the big doors. They called it the intellectual bread line. I joined it.

Talk about cosmopolitanism! That line was it. Men who do piece-work on pants by day and read Nietzsche at night, women who saw Bloody Sunday red across the snow, scholars, teachers, peddlers, preachers, shop-girls, buxom Jewesses, newspaper women, business men—they stood in line and talked about every subject under heaven. The boy we call Jack London gallivanted up and down the edges, selling "'Ford Hall Folks,' five a copy." "Jack's" real name is Jacob, but never mind that.

And then the line surged forward good-humoredly. There was a rustle of feet on the pavement. We were in Ford Hall.

Ford Hall, be it explained here, is really a hall—a hall where on Sunday nights from October to June famous speakers address the audience on social and ethical subjects for an hour, and for another submit to a fire of questions from the floor. There is neither entrance fee nor collection. Nor are the speakers paid. It is the mother of the "open forum" idea in America, and in it speech is free. Some folks say that as Faneuil Hall was the cradle of American liberty, so Ford Hall, a scant half-mile away, is the cradle of American fraternity.

Fraternity was evident in the audience. They were very much at home in the ample seats. They were evidently at home with Miss Slattery, the speaker. She spoke of visiting them the previous year, and they laughed and clapped, as who should say, "We're mighty glad to see you again at our house." She didn't lecture. She talked to them in the way big sisters ought to talk—and don't. She paused indulgently when the answering hot hand-clapping flared up along the rows. It broke out in one swift, heart-felt storm when she said: "It isn't the load that you carry in your arms, it's the load you carry in your heart, that hurts."

Earl Barnes says that the Ford Hall audience is the most wonderful audience in America to talk to. I felt it. They were responsive beyond anything I had ever seen at a sober public gathering. They were solid in their responsiveness.

Then came the questions. For an hour, at Ford Hall, the speaker has it all his own way. Then the audience, keen as a terrier begging you to throw him a stick, takes its turn. Any question may be asked by any one in the hall so long as it doesn't violate the one rule that nothing offensive to race, class, or creed shall be spoken.

Looking back on that talk across others heard since then, I know now that the questionnaire wasn't as exciting that night as usual. You see, what Miss Slattery said was just plain true, and Ford Hall knew there was no room for argument.

Not that Ford Hall doesn't like to argue. On the contrary. It is full of Socialists, and atheists, and freethinkers (shades of John Calvin!), and they love an argument as a cat loves liver. It's likewise full of ministers and professors and writers. The speaker who can answer every question shot at him from the floor must be quick on his mental feet and have a punch in his right arm.

George Coleman conducts that questionnaire, radiating good will, fair play, and power as he does it. The questions may vary from "What does the speaker think of the nature of the Deity?" to "How have the Eskimos successfully existed up to date without jails?" He catches those questions on the bounce, restates them in clear, pithy English so that the audience can comprehend both them and the speaker's reply, and, turning to the speaker, launches them at him with the delight of a good tennis player making a clean serve. Maybe you think it's easy to keep an absolutely fair governance over all those very-much-at-home folks in the seats, and give absolutely fair precedence to each of seven or eight eager questioners, all on their feet at practically the same moment. If you do, I commend you to observe George W. Coleman conducting a questionnaire at Ford Hall. I came away pleased with the concert, stirred by the talk, astonished at the questions, but, above all, demanding:

"Now who the deuce is *that* man?"

The essential thing on which Ford Hall is based is brotherhood—brotherhood as Daniel Sharp Ford foresaw it, brotherhood as George Coleman believes it, and as Boston knows he believes it. For Ford Hall is the vision of Daniel Sharp Ford, the Baptist; but it is the accomplishment of George Coleman, who, incidentally, is a Baptist too.

Ford Hall as it is to-day was Coleman's inspiration. That inspiration was fathered

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by Cooper Union, in New York, where he attended a meeting in 1904, and heard the eager questions from the audience rattle like musketry around the head of Professor Charles Prospero Fagnani.

"This is brotherhood, social justice, real democracy, and applied Christianity in one," thought Mr. Coleman, looking about him. "If we in Boston could only have such meetings as this! If—*if!*—I could only get the Baptist Social Union to stand for them!"

There's no need to go into the details of the period of struggle. Two years later he prevailed on the Union to give him five hundred dollars and the use of the hall on six successive Sunday evenings to try out the idea. On the fourth night of the second season Ford Hall packed its house for the first time, when the topic announced was "Socialism as I See It," and the speakers were four clergymen, three of whom were assorted kinds of Socialists, and the fourth an ex-miner deeply interested in and sympathetic with the workingman. The newspaper comment on that meeting occupied columns in every paper in Boston. Ford Hall had turned away fifteen hundred people. Incidentally, several bold and striking things had been said from its platform. Henceforth Ford Hall was to be recognized by hungry newspaper men as "good copy." No wonder. A couple of thousand working people had been persuaded to climb Beacon Hill in winter to attend a meeting fathered by Baptists.

"What does Ford Hall mean to these people?" some one once asked Mr. Coleman. He shot back the reply instantly:

"Free speech, fair play, good will."

That's all right for an epigram. It's all right, too, for a working motto. But there's something deeper and realer in it; something for which it stands, perhaps, as a child's uneven circle and rays represent the sun.

It's a marvelous thing to sit on Ford Hall platform and look into the faces passing from row to row. Distinctly foreign, distinctly alert, is that audience. There are few weaklings among them. They all have the look of climbers in the social scale. They're coming up from slavery, these people—Russian Jew and white-haired D. A. R. president alike. Slavery of the body, slavery of the mind, slavery of the soul to narrow creeds and warping beliefs, perhaps. Ford Hall is teaching them brotherhood to each other and to the country, to the race, and to the world. Above all else, the place is a modifier of bigots. It tones down Baptist, Socialist, Jew and Jew-hater alike.

At a Socialist club a speaker recently indulged in the usual diatribe against the churches, when a fellow-worker rose and rebuked him.

"Cut out those attacks on the church!" he commanded. "They're doing the best they know how, and I believe they're trying to give us a square deal."

That speech was the direct result of the Ford Hall meetings. The common people are honest-minded, and when convinced that their attitude towards the church is wrong they change it. Usually they're merely as ignorant as an average Christian who thinks that all Socialists want to throw bombs.

Equally is it true of what we are pleased to call the upper class. After the meeting you will see, perhaps, a Gentile woman walking down Park Street with an eager Jewish girl who might be improved if she washed her undershirt oftener, but who has something to teach the woman because she has faced life facts that the woman has never known. She knows why the new sanitary bill is wrong.

"Mei papa, he owns real estate. You make it a law so the tenant can say, 'Here, Mister Landlord, I don't pay the rent till you fix them sanitary conditions.' The Board of Health gets into it, and the Board of Health it take so long to inspect and decide. One month, two months goes by, and that tenant he don't pay rent. He moves out. He says, 'That trick worked fine. I try it again.' Now if you fix it this way—"

For fifteen minutes that woman who wouldn't trade at a "Jew store" stood at the subway entrance listening and learning from a girl who, in her turn, was learning to be a citizen and to wash her undershirt. Maybe she'll never wash her undershirt quite as often as it ought to be washed; but her daughter will—or her daughter's daughter. She is on her way up. Ford Hall is teaching her social brotherhood, the brotherhood that wants sanitary conditions improved in Boston, even if it costs "mei papa" some money for bath-tubs. The tenant mustn't be allowed to short-change papa, that's all. After all, is it any worse to come from Roxbury and wear an Isabella-colored shirt than to come from the water-side of Beacon Street and have a mind full of smelly, unaired prejudices?

There are a hundred sharply individual

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life-stories at Ford Hall. Successes, some of them; and some of them retrieved failures.

There's the boy "Jack London," for example. Jack's not a failure. Not on your last nickel that he'd cheerily rob you of in exchange for a copy of "Ford Hall Folks." He is, among many other things, the sales manager of the weekly paper of the organization. His mother was an Orthodox Russian Jewess in Vienna, and with her he came all the way to Boston. He was a seller of papers and blacker of boots. Then he was a citizen of the George Junior Republic. Then he came to Ford Hall, and shortly thereafter emerged, pleading that "we have a paper of our own."

Since that time he has studied law and earned his own living at responsible work under many handicaps. He is showing real promise as a public speaker, especially when the subject is Ford Hall and the democratic spirit. He adores Mr. Coleman. The other Saturday his face was simply radiant. "I am going to play handball with him at the gym," he confided, "and then I am going out to his house for supper, and then we are going to the theater together!" Nobody needed to ask who "him" was—the listener had been a hero-worshiper too.

There's Freda Rogolsky, a hard-working little Russian Jewess, all fire, energy, laughter, and tears. Freda has the most fascinating wiggle to her fingers that anybody ever saw. Many of her most telling speeches are accomplished with it. Between "doing babies and pure milk" at the Elizabeth Peabody House she speaks at some of the other forums which are springing up about Boston. A wind-harp swept by all the winds of emotion is Freda. Along with Ford Hall she ranks the Temple Israel among the forces which have made her life, and when Rabbi Harry Levi spoke from Ford Hall platform the eyes and hands and pride and temperament of Freda are beyond my powers of description.

There's Mrs. Hoffman, whose back is truly majestic, and whose front is even more so, superintended by her piercing bright eyes. She is a power for good in her neighborhood—a vigorous broom-wielder for righteousness. In a German dialect bristling with d's and v's she collects clothes, food, and coal for the needy, chastens young folks caught idling around doorways after dark, terrorizes the saloon-keeper, and, if necessary, gets out and sweeps up the back yards of the incorrigible. Mrs. Hoffman's practical problem is "vat to do mit dem boys," and she solves it for one set after another. Occasionally she speaks at the Folks' Meeting or the Town Meeting with a fine disregard of moderator, sergeant-at-arms, and the rules of parliamentary law—speaks very much to the point out of a vast practical experience.

The Town Meeting and the Folks' Meeting, be it explained, are week-day and Sunday afternoon meetings—informal—for the promotion of acquaintance and the discussion of social subjects. There is also an Italian forum, inaugurated last season, where the talks are conducted in Italian. It turns away an overflow crowd almost as large as the main Sunday night meeting.

Somebody may ask, "But what does Ford Hall accomplish practically, what does it *do*?"

I didn't understand it at first. But I found out, as I came to know the people. St. Paul says something, you remember, about faith and works. Well, the "works" of Ford Hall are in the homes of its people, where they're worrying out the problem of how to "get the kids to do right," or the problem of whether they shall keep coal in the bath-tub or take baths in it, or the problem of whether the honest, lovable atheist you've learned to call your friend at Ford Hall is really going to be everlastingly damned while you sing off the same hymn-book with Abraham along the golden streets.

So much for what Ford Hall does for its people. What does it do for the lecturer?

I wish I could quote all the speakers who have said that they had learned quite as much as they could possibly have taught. It is a great thing for a lecturer to be placed on a frank basis of equality with his audience. He can't stand up here and preach to a flock of mild-eyed lambs incapable of a come-back. Here and there in the audience he can see somebody busy with pencil and paper, framing a question cunningly aimed for some joint in his armor. Here and there he can watch the light of silent argument flicker in somebody's eye. Those sitting on the platform have seen more than one celebrated pair of knees shake when facing that audience. In fact, Ford Hall has come to be considered a sort of spiritual yard-stick by which to measure flexibility of the mind.

The effect it is having on the intellectual class who represent the state of mind called Boston is equally interesting. Of course Ford Hall isn't intended to appeal particularly to them. It's a church for the unchurched and unprivileged—a place that

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might hang out the sign, "No church members in good standing need apply." Those folks are expected to get their spiritual fodder at home. Yet you can't keep them away. And to a remarkable degree it disposes of intellectual snobbishness in those who come.

What Ford Hall means to the capitalist and conservative is less easy to determine. My personal acquaintance with capitalists is limited. Yet I have seen a skilled and famous corporation lawyer dancing the Virginia reel at a Ford Hall party in a girl's cooperative club home where everybody dug up thirteen cents apiece to pay for the cake and coffee with which they were refreshed. I have seen a great Boston millionaire merchandiser answer from Ford Hall platform with perfect amity the questions shot at him from eager union men in the audience and admit afterwards that they had educated him more than he had educated them. I have seen the letter in which such a good Churchman as Dean Hodges, of the Cambridge Theological School, wrote: "It is a salutary thing for religion itself to hear the frank criticisms of those who are out of sympathy with its institutions."

Perhaps the biggest influence it has on the master class is the change it has effected in the point of view of the Baptist Social Union. Think of their spending that much money yearly on an enterprise from which they get nothing in return! No additions to church membership, no collection, no glory, nothing! They're practically all members of the master class—shrewd, keen New England business men, for the most part. Some of them won't admit their approval, some of them don't know they approve yet; but they continue to appropriate the money, and some of them attend the meetings and actually ask questions right out loud. Talk about influencing the master class! If that isn't it, I don't know what is.

Incidentally, the open forum idea is not incapable of propagating itself. Mr. Coleman, the Rev. Harold Marshall, and W. H. Foster, Mr. Coleman's able lieutenant, are continually called to conferences with representative citizens eager to start a forum of their own. Without any propaganda work on the part of the parent enterprise, some thirty or more forums have been established.

Of course it is true that the conventional church has been losing ground exactly as it has failed to fight for social justice. Ford Hall has given excellent proof that whenever a Sunday night meeting goes straight to the heart of man and the core of religion it develops increasingly and vitally. Many a visiting minister has sighed in his heart as he watched the overflow turn disappointedly away from the "No More Admitted" sign, and wished that he might have in his church the human crumbs that fall from Ford Hall's table.

Still, it takes two elements to make a church—the leaders and the people. No amount of thought and labor on the leaders' part and no cash grants from a dead millionaire will ever make Ford Hall even an inconsiderable rival of the churches, supposing it wished to be. When you consider the immense sacrifices that church people have made to keep their steeples standing, when you realize that the Ford Hall crowd is required to make no sacrifice, not even to the extent of a dime dropped in a collection-box, you wonder what that fed and petted audience would really do if it had to pay—well, say the light and heat bill.

There are those, too, who maintain that Ford Hall will take the place of the old lyceums and will furnish intellectual rather than spiritual food. Yet where shall you lay off the dividing line between intellectual and spiritual?

There, too, is the obverse of the medal. Thomas Dreier, editor of the weekly paper, saw it.

> "When I attend the Ford Hall meetings," he wrote, "and look into the faces of the people, I feel in my heart that these men and women who speak so easily of fraternity and brotherhood are but a pack of wolves held by a legal fence. Take away the fence, and they will plunge forward into the rich fields and become pillagers. And what I say of them I can say of you—and of myself."

Now mob psychology, repeated down the ages, proves that leaders hold their places only as long as they keep their feet. Yet there is another truth, surer even than that. It is that people will do almost anything to hold fast to an ideal.

If the Ford Hall people can hold fast to their ideal of fraternity after George Coleman's dust is making the grass green in Forest Hills Cemetery, it will be the greatest epitaph that could be given him, for it would prove his faith that men can be truly brothers.

Now is no time to prophesy that. However, in common with many far-seeing men in widely divergent walks of life, the advocates of all the varying opinions about Ford Hall's

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future agree that in the next fifteen years this country, and perhaps a large part of the world, will undergo a vast spiritual awakening. What part Ford Hall will play in this, not you nor I, nor those to whom it is nearest and dearest, can say.

But the fact remains that it is a big and successful experiment in liberty, equality, and fraternity; and beyond question one of the most vital contributions to social service ever put forth in this eminently practical era which—men say—is now drawing to a close.

WHAT ONE SOUTHERN WOMAN HAS DONE

WE confess, to our shame, that we never heard of Mrs. G. H. Mathis before. The issue for November 3 of Theodore H. Price's excellent weekly, "Commerce and Finance," tells us that she is one of the demonstrators of the Alabama State Department of Agriculture, and prints a delightful address which Mrs. Mathis made at the second annual convention of the Farm Mortgage Bankers' Association, held in St. Louis, October 7–8. She is evidently a very remarkable woman, as we believe our readers will agree when they have read the following extract, which we quote from the stenographic report of her extemporaneous address to the Farm Mortgage Bankers:

In the Girls' Tomato-Canning Club there, in the county that I happen to own a farm in, that was Etowah County, Miss Bankston was in charge of the Canning Club work. She is a very estimable woman. She knows the way to run country people, and she was telling me that she had thirty-five girls in the canning club business, but they were the daughters of well-to-do people. I said: "Miss Bankston, this money that the Government is furnishing us is not for the well-to-do people, but particularly for the poor, and you go out and get the daughters of the poor; you go out and get the girls in the hills, and out in the mountains, and get them to take these seeds that the Government has furnished, and let's get them to growing tomatoes and show them how to do something." "Well," she said, "I haven't any way to go." I said, "How far do you have to go?" She said, "About one thousand miles up and down those mountains and hills there." "Well," I said, "take my buggy and horse." She said: "No, I wouldn't do that; I would break that buggy all to pieces." I said, "Miss Bankston, if you tear up that buggy trying to help the girls of this county it will be the best buggy that ever was sold." So she took it, and five weeks later she called me up and said: "Mrs. Mathis, I am on the way home, but the buggy is all in." [Laughter.] I said, "Let's try to help our girls."

Well, she said she didn't know how they were going to get the cans to can the goods with. She said: "How will we get the cans?" I said: "I don't know." So we went over to the Chamber of Commerce and asked Mr. Lee if he thought the Chamber of Commerce could help us get the cans for the girls. He said: "No." I said: "You call the society women of this town down here. I am going to raise those cans, or raise this town." He sent for them and they came down, and I talked to the ladies, just like I felt about it. I said: "Oh, my ladies, you are all members of missionary societies and I have nothing against that, but you know more about China and Japan and every place on the face of the earth than you know about Alabama," and I said: "You have heard the call of distress from across the ocean, but have you heard the still small voice of the suffering women and girls of Alabama?" I said: "The time has come when we need to do something at home." I said: "You ladies get all this money and get these cans." And they said: "How will we do it?" And I said: "I don't know how you will do it; you get everything else you want, get that." [Laughter.] I said: "Go sign a note and carry it to the bank and get about three or four hundred dollars, whatever it is you need." And they did.

And we bought the cans and we let the cans out to the girls, and the girls signed notes for the cans, and when they had them filled with tomatoes they brought them back and paid for them. Well, then Miss Bankston came in and said: "Mrs. Mathis, we have got fifty thousand cans of tomatoes." I said: "What are you going to do with them?" She said: "I don't know." So I called the same ladies back down to the Chamber of Commerce and said: "Your job is just half done. These girls have got the tomatoes fixed up all right, and now we have either got to sell them or eat them." [Laughter.] Well, we went to work, you know, and we sold tomatoes everywhere. They just drummed everybody about the tomatoes. They took up the telephone book, and they divided that thing out and called everybody up there was in town to see if they couldn't sell tomatoes. And we finally went to the merchants and asked them if they wouldn't handle the tomatoes, and they

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said no, they had all their tomatoes from Maryland and Virginia, and they didn't need ours. "Well," we said, "if you don't trade with us, we won't trade with you." And so we stopped the trade right then and there, and in about ten days they said: "We will take your tomatoes, and take all next year's crop, too." [Laughter.]

Well, when the tomatoes were all sold, and the expenses all paid, there were six thousand dollars in cash scattered out in the hills and the hollows, and among the girls, and we wanted to see how they would use that money. They came to town and most of them planned to try to send themselves to school. And they bought clothing, of course, and they bought furniture, and rugs, and rocking chairs, and some of them bought stoves and fence wire, and one lame girl paid on a mule for her father, and some paid something on the land, and some paid doctor's bills, and some paid for coffins. And, neighbors, we loaned those girls $400, and $6,000 came back to our town, and you can't beat that for an investment. No, that is what you can't You can't beat that for an investment. I think we need to consider these things.

Oh, we can do so much; so much that we can do so easily, if we will only go after it in the right spirit. And, as I have gone around lately over the State of Alabama, so many times when I make a talk, and there is a great crowd of men there, and I would probably be talking till twelve o'clock, and I would say: "Well, I am tired; I have got to stop." The men will say: "Go on, Mrs. Mathis, we can eat any time, but we can't listen to you any time." And I say: "Well, you will have to wait till I go and eat." "Well, will you come back at 1:30?" "Yes, I will come back at 1:30." And when I come there isn't standing room. Jammed, too, to hear what I have to say on how to do better farming. And the best farmers will say: "I wouldn't have missed your talk for a thousand dollars." And the poor ignorant renter will come around and say, with tears rolling down his cheeks: "God bless you! Keep a-going." And I am keeping a-going. [Cheers and prolonged applause.]

THE READER'S VIEW

THE BLIND AND THEIR SENSE-PERCEPTION

In your issue of November 3 Mr. Clarence Hawkes, in a short contribution entitled "Some Fallacies About the Blind," gave an interesting statement of some of the ridiculous notions entertained by seeing people in regard to apparently incomprehensible feats accomplished by some persons deprived of sight. My own physical disability makes this subject of particular interest to me, and I should like to add a little to what Mr. Hawkes has said.

Most individuals are so helpless in the dark or when their eyes are closed that they very naturally exaggerate the difficulty of doing without sight and often ask blind persons absurd questions. Thus I am often asked how I can enjoy the smoking of a cigar when I cannot *see* the smoke. Acts which have a perfectly simple explanation seem so wonderful that in the account of them by those who witnessed them that they are unintentionally exaggerated or misrepresented. A certain blind boy of my acquaintance was able to count the trees as he was led by them at a distance of several feet.

The simple explanation lies in the fact of what in Porter's "Human Intellect," which I studied at college, was called "acquired sense-perception." By this is meant the training of one sense to take the place of another. Every one has learned to do this more or less, but in the case of the blind necessity compels to an unusual and seemingly uncanny development of this faculty. Nearly or quite everybody is able, even with his eyes shut, to tell by taste as well as touch that he is eating an orange or an apple, for instance.

With blind people it is the senses of touch, hearing, and smell that are especially required to perceive what ordinarily is taken cognizance of by the eyes. Mr. Hawkes has mentioned the apparent recognition of the color of a rose or other flower through the knowledge derived by the odor of the particular flower. It is precisely this sort of thing that enables a blind person to know that a certain flower is on the table or that a person is in the room when the person is keeping as still as possible, since even when the presence of the person is not betrayed by a perfume he is very apt to be betrayed by some other odor insensible to himself. Everybody has a peculiar and, to the sensitive, a *distinguishing* or *characteristic* odor. It was this fact that enabled Laura Bridgman, who could neither see nor hear, to assist in assorting the laundry of the other inmates of the school. In my professional work it is this sense of smell that, detecting a particular odor about a patient, has enabled me to tell his occupation, as, for instance, that of a painter or cigarmaker. It is this acquired sense-perception that has often informed me that I was passing a grocery or dry-goods or other store. There is nothing peculiar or wonderful in this when one understands the reason.

Every one knows that most blind persons possess unusually keen and trained hearing, and

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it is this keenness or alertness of observation through the ears that enables one without sight to detect what is going on about him or to interpret just what another person in the room is doing. Of course some blind persons possess a keener power of observation or of interpretation through their remaining senses than have some others. It is, after all, only a matter of training.

But I desire especially to speak of the sense of touch possessed by the blind. Most persons appear to think that touch, or rather the sense of appreciating objects by touch, lies only or mainly in the hand. There is a far finer sense of touch than that, delicate as is the hand or finger. The skin or nerves of the face residing in the skin possess in the *trained* a remarkable sensitiveness, and it was that sort of keenness of sensation of the face that enabled the boy already mentioned to count the trees as he passed, or which permits a blind person to know when he has approached a wall, although undoubtedly sound has more or less to do with it in some instances. Then the feet of the blind acquire a peculiar sensitiveness which enables the individual to recognize locality through peculiarities of the surface on which he is treading. Unevenness in the floor or differences in the thickness or feel of rugs or carpets, for instance, assist the blind in recognizing just where he is in a room. Finally, the observing person without sight may, and often does, possess or acquire an unusual sense of distance, so that he is able to judge very accurately just where he is.

These and many more instances of acquired sense-perception might be given, but I fear I have trespassed already on your valuable space and on the patience of the reader. I desire in concluding to say only that there is more truth than poetry in the remark once made by a blind man who had "made good" in his field of endeavor, "The blind can do anything but see."

ROBERT H. BABCOCK, M.D.

Chicago, Illinois.

A WORD FOR THE GULLS

Under title of "Alaskan Fish and Indians" The Outlook of September 22, 1915, summarized the report of Deputy Commissioner of Fisheries E. Lester Jones concerning the conservation of the fish resources of Alaska. Mr. Jones, according to this summary, directly antagonizes the fundaments of conservation in his alleged recommendation "that the protection now afforded gulls and similar water-fowl destructive to young fish and fish eggs be removed."

From far-away Florida it seems inconceivable that there are any species of gulls in Alaska that are sufficiently predatory upon food fish to be a menace to the industry. As far as "similar water-fowl" are concerned, such a term is inexcusable from one posing as an authority, and does not merit a reply. To legislate against gulls and similar water-fowl would show the same lack of insight as if England were to declare war upon "the United States and similar nations" just because a Florida Negro committed a crime against a British subject. Such a comparison may appear ridiculous, but at the same time it is a common tendency of the uninformed to attack an entire family or class, particularly of wild birds, because of the real or imagined depredations of a few individuals or species. The expression "similar water-fowl" is in itself a confession of unfamiliarity not only with the food habits of the Alaskan birds, but also with even the names of the commonest species—commonest because alleged to occur in numbers vast enough to be material in reducing the fish supply.

The term "gulls" is almost, if not quite, as vague, since there are several species (about twelve, I am told) of these splendid birds in Alaska, and certainly no intelligent person would maintain that they are all destructive to "young fish and fish eggs" to the extent of deserving extermination. Whether any of them are so destructive or not is not for a Florida "cracker" to prove, but for one who at least knows the names of the common wild birds of Alaska. In Florida, which is also noted for its fisheries, we have six different species of gulls (I have counted them myself), and none of them are destructive to food fish to any appreciable extent, their food consisting chiefly of garbage and refuse from the boats, insects, and fish, some at least of which are dead or dying ones which they pick up from the surface of the water. No better proof of the harmlessness of the Florida gulls need be offered than the fact that very few people complain of them—even among the fishermen, for it is a common fault with Florida beach-combers as a whole to magnify the supposed vices of certain species of wild creatures and declare war on the entire family in retaliation, and to ignore their real and beneficial qualities altogether. Thus I have heard our west coast fishermen malign the brown pelican until I have nearly exhausted my entire vocabulary in his defense, and then only to find that I had it all to do over again in behalf of my friend the Ward heron; but on no occasion, from any source, have I heard one adverse criticism for any species of gull. On the other hand, however, I have heard them praised and admired for their beauty, for their public health work as purifiers of the sea, and because of their inestimable service in destroying insects.

I have delayed replying to the article "Alaskan Fish and Indians" until I could learn something about the gulls of Alaska. I find that there are twelve species native to that country and that their habits are in general similar to those of Florida; that is, they feed mostly on offal, garbage, insects, and fish—some dead ones, as before stated. Judging from the har-

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mony which usually prevails in the co-existence of wild species, it is probably safe to assume that the correlation between the Alaska "gulls and similar water-fowl" and the fish is a harmonious one, and one of equal benefit to both sides. It is a well-known fact that one mature female fish may lay as high as twenty thousand eggs. If all these eggs developed into mature fish, in a few years there would not be room enough in the sea for them; but nature provides enemies to fish which thin out the weak, the sickly, and the unfit, leaving the robust to propagate their kind and to furnish food for men. Gulls may be included among these natural enemies, and even then their apparent destructiveness would in truth be a beneficial factor in the economy of nature. As reckless and criminally wasteful as we have been in our methods of harvesting fish, it seems absurd to deny such a useful bird as the gull a few fish, particularly when he takes many dead ones that would otherwise be left to pollute the water. HERBERT R. MILLS, M.D.

Tampa, Florida.

FROM PORTO RICO

To a considerable group of men conversant with conditions here—men who know these conditions at first hand and have known them for years—the solution of the social problems offered by Governor Yager seems to be the only practicable one. There is not room, without overcrowding, nor is there sustenance, for this dense and increasing population, under present conditions of land-holding. The great bulk of the land is held by corporations; the common people have no foothold whatever—with just enough exceptions to emphasize the statement. There seems to be no way to remedy this condition without confiscation of property, which is contrary to the principles of democratic government.

People are crowded out of the country districts from lack of work and food; they herd in the cities, and many exist in conditions of abject poverty and misery. While it is true that some are lazy, as elsewhere, the great majority are willing to work; but there is no work for them. The population of San Juan increased fifty per cent from 1899 to 1910, and it has grown very rapidly since that time. When men come from the country and are asked why they come, the invariable answer is, "No work." It may be assumed that the United States Government has done something for Porto Rico; as a matter of fact, it has revolutionized and transformed conditions and opportunities for the better; but, even so, the poverty and misery are on the increase. It is deeply to be regretted that there has to be retrenchment in expenditures for educational and sanitary purposes just now, but the effect would not be so marked if the population were not so great.

It is urged that labor "is not a deportable sort of commodity." Of course not. The idea is not to deport labor, but to give the average man a chance. It is assumed that the Porto Rican has not the "capacity" nor the "initiative" to enable him to succeed abroad. Not all have these elements of character, but a great many have them. Many have succeeded elsewhere in the West Indies, and there is no reason to suppose that many more might not succeed.

We are plainly "confronted by a condition, not a theory," and it seems that the only feasible means of meeting it is that proposed by Governor Yager, made after a thorough and sympathetic study of the question on the ground; namely, emigration, under Government supervision, to the most available place, which might well be Santo Domingo. And not only is the need urgent, but the opportunity may not long be open. The movement should be made before large corporations get possession of the lands in Santo Domingo, and thus forestall any effort at colonization. A. G. AXTELL.

The Blanche Kellogg Institute,
San Juan, Porto Rico.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE BY TOWNS

In your recent résumé of the spread of woman's suffrage in the United States Florida was listed among the anti-suffrage States.

This hardly does Florida justice.

In this year's session of the Florida Legislature a local act was passed granting equal franchise to the women of Fellsmere, a small town on the east coast of Florida. This is only municipal franchise, but it is the first woman's suffrage act of any kind that has ever been passed by any Southern State. Fellsmere, therefore, has broken the solid South.

The Fellsmere plan is already beginning to spread throughout Florida and her neighboring States. It does not permit women to hold office, but gives them an absolutely equal vote with men in all local affairs.

Another feature of the Fellsmere Plan that is probably original in the United States is the limited franchise conferred upon all domestic freeholding corporations, each corporation being allowed one vote in all municipal bonding elections. P. A. VANS AGNEW.

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BY THE WAY

Christmas packages sent by mail are often decorated with "Christmas stamps." A circular issued by the New York post-office warns the public that these stamps must not be used to seal the package, as is frequently done; this renders the parcel unmailable at fourth-class rates.

One of the men who make dictionaries, says Arthur Pemberton in the "American Printer," offered this new definition to his fellow-members of the revising staff, as a note to the word "rare:" "One meaning omitted; 'rare, to rise up, like a horse, on the hind legs; to become unmanageable.'" One wonders whether this "staff member" was not really perpetrating a joke on his colleagues—in which case he probably "laughed last."

A subscriber tells this dog story: In an oil town in Texas he went into a store and was at once approached by a large pointer dog which pawed his right leg in a wistful manner. The storekeeper said, "Give the dog a nickel." The animal, with the nickel in his mouth, rushed through the door and across the street to a "hamburger" stand, dropped the money on the counter, and received a big red sausage, which he gulped down with great relish. The dog, it seems, got a dozen or more sausages in this way every day; he always, it was said, "made up" to well-dressed strangers for his nickel—sometimes, with genuine regard for the pockets of his "home folks," refusing to take the proffered coin from natives who wore the oil-driller's garb!

There are still in America worlds to conquer for the tourist who likes to rough it and get away from civilization. One of these, in California, is described in "Travel" under the title "The Canyon of the Holy Kings." The region lies two and a half days' journey by stage and pack train beyond the railway, and is said to rival the Yosemite in scenic grandeur.

The Chinese junk is to most Western eyes a curious, not to say outlandish, type of vessel. Yet a nautical authority, in picturing and describing a famous craft of this kind which visited Europe and America as long ago as 1848, says that she proved herself an excellent sea boat, with powers of weathering a storm equal, if not superior, to vessels of Western build. This junk, the Keying, is also declared to have made a run "equal to the time of the best packet ships of the period." Information of this kind about foreign methods is often truly educative to Americans inclined to be boastful.

Are the natives of the Balkan Peninsula ever to cease giving us surprises? One of these surprises comes in the statement that to-day no less than eighty-five per cent of the locomotives in use in Rumania are of the up-to-date oil-burning variety.

The European correspondent of the "Railway Age Gazette" quotes a Frenchman, who had traveled throughout France this fall and seen the wonderful work of women in the fields, as paying this indirect tribute to his countrywomen: "Would it not be a good thing to keep the men at war?" Besides raising the crops of the country, Frenchwomen are making munitions, keeping the post-office going, and doing much of the work connected with the railways.

A letter printed in the New York "Evening Sun" says that this sign appears in the Chicago public library—"Please do not sneeze in the books;" and this in the Boston public library—"Only low talk permitted here." These sound apocryphal; but we are assured that in the Cathedral at Strasbourg this placard is posted, presumably for the benefit of uneasy tourists: "Please do not circulate during the service."

Charles P. Steinmetz, sometimes described as the world's greatest electrician, in an interview in "Collier's" says that the most important electrical and industrial problem of to-day is "the transportation of electricity." "The United States," he says, "should be covered with a mesh of power-transmission lines." These lines, he thinks, will eventually be as perfectly co-ordinated as are our present systems of railways, which make travel easy to every part of the country.

The enterprising hen keeps pace with the general advance in records of all sorts. In the fourth international egg-laying contest at Storrs, Connecticut, 1,000 hens laid in 1915 an average of 152 eggs each, as compared with 144 in the previous year.

"Screen Stars' Ball is an All-Night Reel," was the humorous headline that introduced an account of a dance recently held for the amusement of the "owners of the world's best-known faces," the popular movie actresses. As the faces of these young women appear daily before numberless audiences in countless photo-plays, there is some justification for the characterization.

Justice Day, of the United States Supreme Court, is a man of small stature, a writer in "Everybody's" observes; while his son looms high even among six-footers. Recently the son came into the Supreme Court room. Seizing the opportunity, Justice Holmes jotted down a note on a piece of paper and passed it along. When it reached Justice Day, he read: "My, the boy's a block off the old chip, isn't he, Day?"

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